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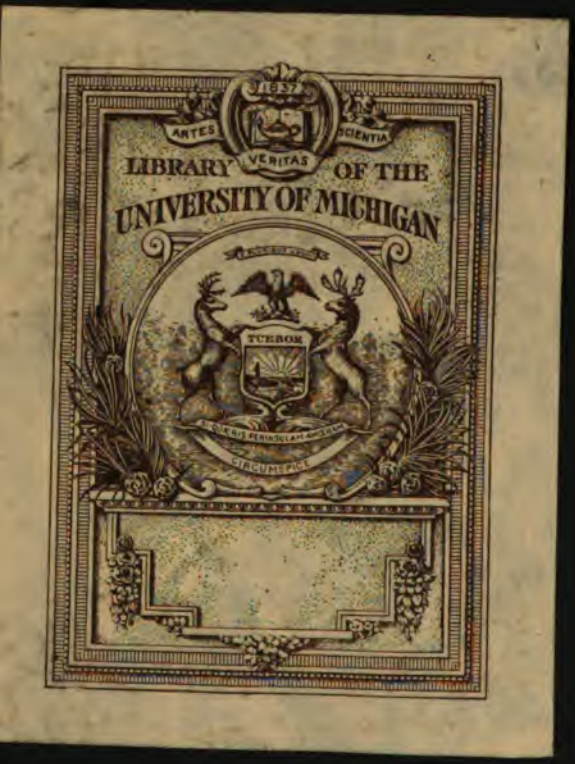
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BOOKS

WHICH INFLUENCED OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES:

BEING A CRITICAL REVIEW OF APOCALYPTIC JEWISH LITERATURE.

BY

JOHN E. H. THOMSON, B.D.,

STIRLING.

EDINBURGH:

T. & T. CLARK, 38 GEORGE STREET.

1891.



21 Y. 19. E. H.W.

TO THE MEMBERS

OF THE

Θ

CLUB,

TO WHOSE SUGGESTION IT OWES ITS ORIGIN,

This Book

IS AFFECTIONATELY DEDICATED

BY THEIR BROTHER

THE

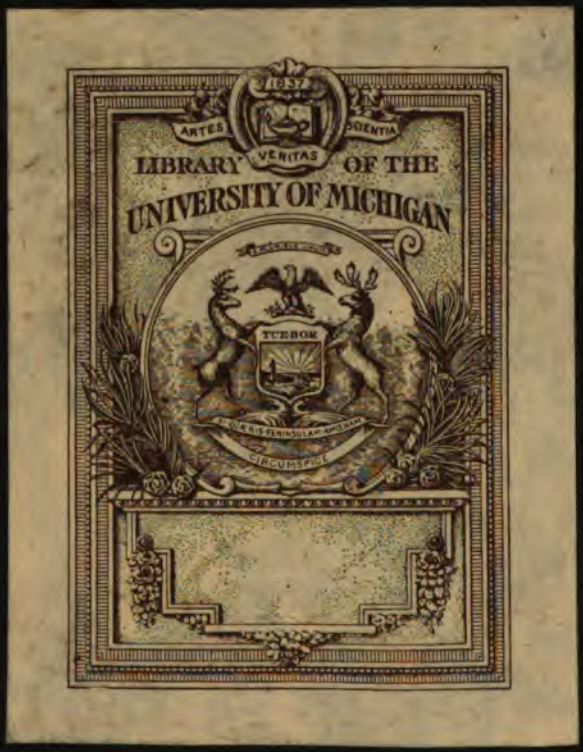
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PREFACE.

THE present work owes its origin to a paper read by the author to a Theological Club—a society in which a few friends discuss theological questions. The subject seemed to the members one of interest, and at the same time one very little known, and they suggested the advisability of enlarging the paper into a volume. Notwithstanding the advice given, the author still hesitated, as the field he would occupy had to a great extent been already filled by Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ* (transl., 5 vols. and Index vol.: T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh); Hausrath's *New Testament Times* (transl., 2 vols.: Williams & Norgate, London); Langen's *Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi*, among Germans; and by such works as Drummond's *Jewish Messiah* (Longmans, London), and Stanton's *Jewish and Christian Messiah* (T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh), for English readers. But on further consideration the thought of the many points on which he had found himself compelled to differ from his predecessors in this field, and of the important, if only indirect, bearing the contents of the apocalyptic books had on evangelic history, led him to listen to the advice so kindly tendered.

The primary object of the present work was to give


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LITERATURE OF THE SUBJECT.

SOURCES.

Enoch.

Laurence — Ethiopic and Latin, English.
Dillmann—German.
Schödde—English.
De Sacy—Latin (first 16 chapters).

Baruch.

Ceriani—Syriac.
Fritzsche—Latin.

Psalter of Solomon.

Hilgenfeld—Greek.
Frabicius— do.
Fritzsche— do.
De la Cerda—Latin.
Wellhausen—German.

Book of Jubilees.

Dillmann—Ethiopic.
Schödde—English.
Ceriani (Rönsch)—Latin.

Assumption of Moses.

Volkmar—Latin.
Fritzsche— do.
Hilgenfeld—Greek.
Volkmar—German.

Ascension of Isaiah.

Dillmann—Ethiopic.
Do. —Latin.

Fourth Esdras.

Hilgenfeld—Greek (v.).
Do. —Latin.
Do. —Arabic (v.).
Do. —Syriac (v.).
Do. —Armenian (v.).
Do. —Ethiopic (v.).
Apocrypha—English translation.

Twelve Patriarchs.

Fabricius—Greek and Latin.
Sinker—Greek.
Clark's Ante-Nicene Christian Library (Lactantius, vol. ii.).

Philo—

Revière, Geneva—Greek and Latin.
Bohn's translation—English.

Josephus—

Oberthür, Leipzig—Greek and Latin.
L'Estrange's translation—English.

SIBYLLINA ORACULA—

Alexandre—Paris—Greek and Latin.

FRAGMENTS OF JEWISH-ALEXANDRIAN WRITERS—

Clemens Alexandrinus—Heinsius (Paris 1629)—Greek and Latin. (English transl., Ante-Nicene Fathers: Clark's ed.)

Eusebius, Preparatio Evangelica—Greek and Latin—Vigne's (Cologne 1688).

Historia Ecclesiastica, Bright: Clarendon Press—English (Bohn's Series).

Plinius Secundus, Historia Naturalis (Frankfort A/M. 1682).

GENERAL HISTORIES OF THE PERIOD.

Ewald's *History of Israel.* Transl., Longmans.

Do. *Antiquities.* do.

Milman's *History of the Jews.* Murray.

Grätz, *Geschichte der Juden.*

Stanley's *Jewish Church.* Murray.

Jost, *Geschichte des Judenthums.*

Wellhausen, *History of Israel.* Transl., Longmans.

Hengstenberg's *Kingdom of God under the Old Dispensation.* T. & T. Clark.

Renan's *Histoire du peuple Israel.*

Derenbourg, *Histoire de la Palestine.*

SPECIAL HISTORIES OF THE PERIOD.

Schürer's *Jewish People in the Time of Jesus Christ.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.

Hausrath's *New Testament Times.* Transl., Williams & Norgate.

Morrison, *The Jews under the Romans.* Story of the Nations. Fisher Unwin.

Langen, *Judenthum in Palästina zur Zeit Christi.*

Nicolas, *Doctrines religieuses des Juifs.*

LIVES OF CHRIST.

Lange, *Life of Christ.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.

Farrar, *Life of Christ.* Cassels.

Geikie, *Life of Christ.* Hodder & Stoughton.

Edersheim, *Jesus the Messiah.* Longmans.
Keim, *Jesus of Nazara.* Transl., Williams & Norgate.
Jesus the Carpenter of Nazareth. Kegan Paul.
Renan, *Les Origines du Christianisme.*
Weiss, *Life of Christ.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
Beyschlag, *Leben Jesu.*
Neander, *Life of Christ.* Bohn.
Pressensé, *Jésus Christ.*

ON THE MESSIANIC IDEA IN THE APOCALYPTIC BOOKS, INCLUDING DANIEL.

Drummond's *Jewish Messiah.* Longmans.
Stanton's *Jewish and Christian Messiah.* T. & T. Clark.
Colani, *Croyances Messianiques.*
Vernes, *Histoire des Idées Messianiques.*
Anger, *Der Messianische Idee.*
Hitzig, *Messianische Weissagungen.*
Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
Delitzsch's *Messianic Prophecies.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
Hilgenfeld's *Judische Apocalyptik.*
Hengstenberg's *Christology.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
Pusey, *On Daniel.* Murray.
Keil's *Daniel.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
Philippi, *Das Buch Henoch.*
Lücke, *Offenbarung Johannis.*
Kuenen, *Prophets of Israel.* Transl., Trübner.

INTRODUCTION TO BOOKS OF OLD AND NEW TESTAMENTS AND APOCRYPHA.

Keil, *Introduction to Old Testament.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
Bleek, *Introduction to Old Testament.* Transl., T. & T. Clark.
De Wette, *Einleitung.*

SECTS OF THE JEWS.

Montet, *Les Pharisiens et les Sadducéens.*
Cohen, *Les Pharisiens.*
S. de Sacy, *Correspond. avec les Samaritains.*
Wellhausen, *Pharisaer und Sadducaer.*
Hanne, *Pharisaer und Sadducaer als politische parteien.*
Lucius, *Essenismus.*

ON THE VIEWS OF PHILO.

Ritter, *Geschichte der Philosophie*, vol. iv.

Ueberweg, *History of Philosophy*, vol. ii. Transl., Hodder & Stoughton.

Zeller, *Philosophie der Griechen*, Division iii., 2nd Section, vol. ii.
(This volume contains also an account of the Essenes.)

JEWISH WORKS.

Targums—Several old folio editions. For particulars, see Peterman's *Chaldee Grammar*. Winer has published extracts.

Talmud—Also several folio editions. A good recent edition is that of Cracow. A French translation was recently in course of publication; whether it is now completed the writer is not aware. A translation of the Mishna into English was published some few years ago in London. A large number of sections were omitted, as they plaintively remark, because they would not suit "the English taste." Several articles commendatory of the Talmud have from time to time been published, especially that of the late Emanuel Deutsch. It is easy from such a mass of material as the Talmud consists of to extract something good.

Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, gives a great mass of information.

TOPOGRAPHY OF PALESTINE.

Tristram's *The Land of Israel*. S.P.C.K.

Picturesque Palestine. Virtue.

Thomson's *The Land and the Book*. Nelson.

Ritter's *Geography of Palestine*. Transl., T. & T. Clark.

Henderson's *Palestine: Its Historical Geography*. With Topographical Index. T. & T. Clark.

Further, there are articles in various German, English, and American theological periodicals; articles in Herzog's *Real-Encyclopädie;* Wetzer und Welte, *Kirchen-Lexicon;* Ersch und Grube's *Encyclopædia;* the *Encyclopædia Britannica;* Smith and Wace's *Dictionaries*, which are too numerous to particularise.

The writer would not be held as asserting that this is all or nearly all that is written on the subject; but what is mentioned above he has perused more or less carefully as seemed necessary from the nature and importance of the several works.

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BOOKS WHICH INFLUENCED OUR LORD AND HIS APOSTLES.

INTRODUCTION.

WHEN we think of Christ, when we attempt to comprehend in any small degree the mystery of His Person, we instinctively shrink from too close inspection. It was lest they should be guilty of irreverence that the command was given to warn the people of Israel to keep back from Mount Sinai when God descended upon it, "lest they should break through to gaze." We feel as if there were something of the same irreverence in too closely contemplating, even in thought, a human nature that had been made awful by the personal presence of Deity within it. We feel we must take the shoes from off our feet, for it is holy ground.

Many shrink back from any delineation of His form as tending to lower the awful majesty that ought, even in thought, to encircle Godhead when tabernacling with men, and veiled in flesh. If this awe fill us when we contemplate the earthly form which our Lord wore, do we not feel it even more when we attempt to pierce within the veil of flesh, and think of the soul of Him who knew no sin? We

feel doubly the need of putting the shoes off our feet and veiling our faces, when we attempt to think Christ's thoughts after Him.

If even to contemplate Christ, actual man and true God, very man of very man, and very God of very God, fill us with wonder, and overwhelm us with a sense of mystery, does not the idea of growth prove more trying for us, as it seems to contradict the idea of Deity even when incarnate? When we allow our minds to dwell upon it, we feel as if we were lifting that innermost veil, behind which dwells the Shechinah of God's presence, and that forth from that awful glory the fire of God may come and consume us in a moment. If that be the case with regard to the growth of the body, do we not feel it to be much more so in regard to the mind? To think of growth in regard to that mind and spirit which were drawn into such intimate union with Godhead, and to attempt to realise the process of that growth in thought, seems as much of the essence of desecration as to have pierced within the Holy of Holies, and laid hands upon the Ark itself.

Yet may there not be an opposite danger here? It may seem hardly possible to imagine such a thing as an excess in reverence. Yet when Isaiah offered Ahaz, in the name of the Lord, a sign, "either in the depth or in the height," and when he refused it, saying, "I will not ask, neither will I tempt the Lord," we feel that the reverence here is not true, it is excessive, and therefore unreal. The Jews hedged the law about with a reverence that extended even to the parchment on which it was written; yet in that very reverence

for the outer vehicle of the law they lost all real reverence for its spirit.

Christ has come down to dwell among us, to be a man among men, to be "the Son of man," to be our brother; surely we must regard that reverence as excessive that would deprive us of this nearness to Him, and drive Him away from us. We feel that Peter's reverence, though true, was mistaken when he said to our Lord, "Depart from me, for I am a sinful man, O Lord." Our reverence may be as real as Peter's, and yet as much mistaken in its mode of expression, when we absolutely shun the contemplation of the humanity of Christ in all its completeness.

There are signs of a reaction, there are pictures of the early life of our Lord, in which He is represented as the infant, the child, and the young man—pictures in which the artist has endeavoured, with all the help of recent knowledge, to realise what Jesus actually was. We have the growth of the human frame depicted, and we are not shocked by it. When we think a moment we remember that His body had all the sinless infirmities of humanity. We know that He might be wearied with journeying, that His body had to be built up with food, and had to be refreshed with sleep, and finally, that that body died and was buried. Growth is as real an attribute of an organic body as sleep or death. And we are told that He "grew in wisdom and in stature." It would have been the most impious desecration to have pierced within the Holy of Holies when once the Ark was placed there, yet we have an elaborate account of how part after part of the framework of that dwelling-place of God

was made, and of how curtain after curtain that covered it was woven. It cannot be more irreverent to contemplate the upbuilding by vital and physical forces of that human frame, in which God, manifest in the flesh, was to dwell.

But man "liveth not by bread alone," but rather by the words of God. The body is not all, it *is* really because it is the instrument of the spirit of man which is in him. As the true analogue of the Tabernacle is not so much the outward frame as the inner spirit, where the Second Person of the adorable Trinity found His dwelling-place, surely, then, it does not necessarily savour of irreverence to contemplate the growth, mental and spiritual, of Jesus. To exclude from reverent contemplation the mental and spiritual character of Christ is really to fall into the heresy of Apollinaris, who denied to our Lord the possession of any spiritual nature apart from indwelling Godhead.

This growth implies education and amassing of information, the general effects of surroundings, physical and mental. Many of the writers of the lives of Christ which abound have dwelt on the scenery of Nazareth, the swelling hills and the breezy uplands that surround it, and have endeavoured to indicate the effect that this scenery would have on the exquisitely sensitive nature of Christ. Certainly it is impossible that He who had adorned the world with so much beauty should not love to contemplate the beauty He had made. It is impossible that the human nature framed to be the instrument of His divine sacrifice should not have been peculiarly open to everything lovely and beautiful. If any ordinary

child, with some slight modicum of poetry in his nature, is impressed almost unconsciously by the symbolism of nature, surely much more He who was the dwelling-place of that God who made nature and man, and made them so related to each other that man sees in nature the mirror of his thoughts, and that which gives these thoughts language.

The fact that Jesus was the Messiah does not oblige us to assume that He knew this fully from the first. He could only gradually have attained the full consciousness of His mission. We must assume that His apprehension of the fact that He was the Messiah, and the character that the Messiah's office ought to have, would be defined by a study of the Old Testament Scriptures, and the prophecies there concerning the Messiah. As with Timothy, His teacher was, in all likelihood, His mother. There that bright-eyed boy stood at His mother's knee, and began His knowledge of the law, the prophets, and the psalms. Then came the synagogue school, taught by the old *ḥazzan*.[1] By him He would be taught to read Hebrew and to write it. Of course no book had so much influence on our Lord as the Bible—the prophecies in which the Spirit of God had foretold His life and sufferings must of necessity have filled His mind. We cannot know, cannot even more than faintly imagine, what His feelings must have been as gradually it was forced home upon Him that He was the Messiah, and that He was to suffer, not to be happy; to die, not to possess an earthly kingdom.

[1] An official of the synagogue who united the functions of a Scotch beadle to those of a parish schoolmaster.

We would unduly lessen the culture of our Lord and of Palestine generally did we imagine that Hebrew was the only tongue He knew. Aramaic had been the commonly spoken language of the Jewish people from the days of the later Persians till the influence of the Lagid princes made Greek popular. Gradually was Aramaic dispossessed of its pre-eminence, and the language of Plato and Aristotle became more and more spoken. In regard to these two languages we have several proofs of our Lord's familiar acquaintance with both. When He comes to raise Jairus' daughter He addresses her in Aramaic, *Talitha cumi*—a phrase we once heard well paraphrased by an aged Scottish minister, "My wee lammie, get up." When He opens the ears of the deaf man He says *Ephphatha*, also Aramaic. But in the most trying circumstances of all, when, hanging on the cross, the great darkness swept into His soul, and His agony found expression in the words of the twenty-second Psalm, He does not quote it in Greek nor in the original Hebrew, but in Aramaic, *Eloi, Eloi, lama sabachthani.* This last fact is full of meaning, as it affords proof that our Lord knew Hebrew as well as Aramaic. No Aramaic version from the Hebrew was then in use. He must have translated for Himself.

The question in regard to Greek, however, is more interesting, for the literature laid open by the possession of Aramaic was relatively small compared with that of which one was made free by the possession of Greek. It seems indubitable, however contrary to ordinary statements in regard to this matter, that not only did our Lord know Greek, but it was the language

which He customarily used. To a religious people—as, for instance, to the Highlanders in Scotland—there may be little objection to carry on business transactions in a foreign language, but the offices of religion must be in their own tongue; above all, the Bible must be quoted in the language sacred to them by the recollections of childhood. Unless the foreign tongue has completely got the mastery, this is always the case in similar circumstances. Now what do we find? Our Lord invariably is represented as quoting the Scripture in the words of the Septuagint, or only with such small variations as may be due to a copyist.

Thus far we have seen that our Lord was master of three languages, Hebrew, Aramaic, and Greek. Acquaintance with a language, however, is a different matter from acquaintance with its literature; yet knowledge of a language makes the possessor of that knowledge free of the whole literature of that language. What books then do we find traces of in the language of our Lord? We have seen that He had, speaking of Him as a man, an accurate acquaintance with the Septuagint version, but before we proceed further we must look at what indirect light may be thrown on the probable culture—to apply this word with all reverence to our Lord's human nature—of Christ. In regard to this the knowledge of books manifested by the apostles and by His brethren is an important element of proof. Even the Apostle Paul may be brought in evidence, though from the fact that he belonged to the Pharisaic sect his culture is less conclusive, yet does it afford some proof in regard to the books generally known and read among the Chris-

tians of the first century. Paul quotes the heathen poets as if his hearers ought to know them. The circle of believers was so small and so closely united that their knowledge, as at the beginning their goods, might be said to be in common.

Another way in which we may form some estimate of the literary influences to which our Lord was subject, is to consider what opportunities a youth, situated as was our Lord, would have. Books certainly were very much rarer and more expensive in the days of our Lord than now, yet this difference may easily be exaggerated. Though the publisher of those days had no printing-presses at his service, slave labour was cheap, and many slave scribes might write to the reading of one. School books, if such they could be called, were mere fragments of books; but in the synagogue schools these fragments were portions of the Old Testament, and therefore precious.

But the private individual was not left wholly to his own resources in the matter of books. We learn from Justin Martyr in his *Dialogue with Trypho* that the synagogues had each a complete copy of the Scriptures; indeed, they must have had a nearly complete copy of the Old Testament for the liturgic Sabbath readings. If Epiphanius is to be trusted, they had other books also, though that may be more doubtful. We may imagine the studious Youth, when the toil of the day was done, wending His way into the synagogue, and with covered head reading what the prophets said concerning Himself. Far into the night He read, while the flickering, uncertain light of the pendent lamp threw strange shadows on the walls of the silent synagogue.

Not improbably He had besides the synagogue roll, with its sacred wrappings, also the Greek translation.

Of Hebrew literature beyond the Scriptures, there certainly was not much. The First Book of the Maccabees and the book of the History of John Hyrcanus, which has disappeared — these for historical books. There were also the stories of Tobit and Judith. Then there were the Wisdom books, the Wisdom of Solomon and the Ecclesiasticus of the Son of Sirach. That was all, if we except the apocalyptic books, of which we shall speak shortly. Some writers would assert that the Mishna, or at least part of it, had been already composed. This, however, is in direct contradiction to the assertions of Jewish tradition, that not till the days of Jehudah Haqqodesh was the Mishna committed to writing. Indeed, much later than this it still seems to be merely oral. Hence the actual Hebrew open to a youth in the early days of our Lord's sojourn upon earth was, so far as the books have come down, merely what we have mentioned.

As for Aramaic, it is doubtful whether from the period preceding our Lord any works have come down to us written in that tongue. The Targums, though they may have been handed down by tradition from a respectable antiquity, yet as committed to writing are not of earlier date than the end of the second century after Christ; not impossibly much later.

As, however, our Lord knew Greek, is there any trace that the splendid literature of that language was known in His circle? The Apostle Paul certainly makes three quotations from Greek poetry, but that is all the effect that, as far as appears, Greek literature had on the

apostle who passed his boyhood in what may be called a Greek university town. With all its formal beauty, we cannot feel sorry that there is no association that unites in one thought the literature of Greece and our Lord. Aristophanes could never by any process be baptized into Christ. Even the sublimities of Homer and Æschylus are so far below Job, Isaiah, and the Psalms that we can have no sense of loss. But there is one slight hint of the presence of philosophic influences in Palestine. When the rich young ruler asks our Lord what good thing he should do in order to inherit eternal life, He answers him according to Matt. xix. 17, in the best reading, "Why askest thou me concerning the good? One there is who is good." This seems an assertion of the Platonic doctrine that "the good" is God. One may parallel this with our Lord's greeting to Nathanael, telling him of his retirement under the fig-tree. There in his closet the youth may have pondered the words of the great philosopher, and for this reason it is that Christ couches His answer in terms that are fitted to make the young man recognise in the omniscience displayed God manifest in the flesh. Indeed, the question concerning the good was one discussed by most of the Greek philosophers, Platonists, Aristotelians, and Cynics, but was not a marked subject of dispute among the Rabbins.

It is perhaps less likely that the works of Plato would be directly studied than that some early treatise of Philo or of some similar writer had reached the young Jew. The intercourse between Egypt and Palestine, always considerable, was greater at the time of our Lord than before, now that both were united

under the power of Rome. We admit that the influence of Alexandrian thought is not very manifest, and that it would be easy to exaggerate the evidence contained in this saying if it stood alone. But along with this we must take the prologue of the Gospel of John. No one who has read Philo would dream of identifying the Philonian doctrine with that of John. On the other hand, no one can read Philo and the prologue to the fourth Gospel without feeling that the apostle has taken advantage of the phraseology of Philo as a suitable vehicle for conveying truth higher and deeper than it had been originally framed for. It was the language of Philo, but the thoughts of the beloved disciple.

If we may deduce from Luke iv. 18 that in Nazareth they were accustomed to read the Septuagint in the synagogue, it is not an unlikely thing that some of the works of the Alexandrian Jews, especially of Philo the great Alexandrian, would be found in the library of the synagogue. For Philo was, though the contemporary of our Lord, considerably His senior, probably by at least a quarter of a century. If they were within His reach Christ might with rapid eyes scan them. Their teaching only at one point touched His system, and therefore only at that point operated as a preparation for the gospel. What our Lord read was not all that influenced His teaching. What those who were His audience read and were moved by, that He made His own by His divine insight. Thus any books commonly read in Judea at the time might be said to have influenced Jesus; as knowing "what was in man," He modified His teaching to meet the know-

ledge or ignorance of His audience; thus, whatever the books read, our Lord's teaching would of necessity be modified by them, even though He might not have read them.

It is a different matter with another class of books, of acquaintanceship with which there are many traces in the Gospels. The Apocalyptic books were, as we shall show, the product of that mysterious sect, the Essenes. One thing is clear, they were the product of one school, which was clearly neither that of the Pharisees nor of the Sadducees. They could not have proceeded from the latter, as they affirm the doctrines of the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, the existence of angels—doctrines which the Sadducees denied. The Talmud is the product of the Pharisaic school, and its whole method is different from that of the Apocalypses. There is almost no sign in the Talmud that these books were known at all to the writer, and what signs there are, are probably due to the fact that in Christian hands these books were open to the world. These books were secret, sacred books of a sect. That this sect was Jewish, even a cursory study of the books suffices to prove. They are not, as we saw, Sadducean or Pharisaic. The only sect that meets the requirements of the case is the Essenes.

Our Lord meets the Pharisees very frequently, has a Zealot among His chosen band of disciples, encounters the Sadducees not seldom, and the Herodians, a sect otherwise unknown, at least once; but He never meets an Essene. They were numerous enough, and were spread all over the country. If they were less

numerous than the Pharisees, they were much more numerous than the Sadducees, and incomparably more so than the Zealots or Herodians. How was it, then, that our Lord never encountered the Essenes? Is it not the simplest solution, that it is for the same reason that a man cannot meet himself? If He belonged to one of the outer circles of this wide-spread sect, then one can understand His silence.

It is clear, however, that our Lord did not belong to that order of Essenes who maintained themselves in solitude by the Dead Sea. There seem to have been many orders. According to Ginsburg, there were eight classes of Essenes; but this opinion is based on his view of the name under which, as he supposes, they are referred to in the Talmud. This, of course, is not equivalent to a demonstration; and his further assumption, that they were merely a stricter sect of the Pharisees, is contradicted by Josephus. There is no evidence that these orders were superimposed one upon the other, so that a man proceeded from one to another, as in the case of academical degrees. Further, our Lord must be regarded as thoroughly and divinely original in His own views, not in any true sense borrowing them from any school. Hence it is no disproof of our view to find our Lord's doctrines at variance with the opinions attributed to the Essenes by Josephus or Philo. In the matter of Sabbath observance, especially, He went directly in the teeth of the teaching of the Essenes according to Josephus.

What traces are there that these Apocalyptic books were known to our Lord and His apostles? Leaving more careful consideration of this question till we

discuss the books themselves, we may now note some points which press themselves upon us at the risk of having to repeat ourselves later. The title by which our Lord most frequently describes Himself is "the Son of man." Only in Dan. vii. 13 is there any application of this title to the promised Messiah. In Daniel, however, the term is simply descriptive; the passage merely asserts that the Judge at the Last Day would be one that wore a human form, or, at all events, a form like the human. It is not at all used as an appellation. Our Lord uses it regularly as an appellation, and as one that conveys to the initiated the claim to Messiahship. No one could leap from the solitary use of the phrase in Daniel to the general use of it, and the use of it, too, in a more developed and definite sense, without some intermediate steps. These must have occurred in the four centuries that divide the canon of the Old Testament from that of the New. In the Book of Enoch, as we shall see, this title is regularly used of the Messiah. Other examples might be brought forward.

To turn to the apostles, we find them influenced by these very books; Jude quotes avowedly from Enoch, and by implication from the Assumption of Moses, and the Apostle Peter in his Second Epistle (assuming it to be genuine) implies a knowledge of the former of these works. The Apostle Paul uses phrases that occur in those Apocalyptic books, and the Book of Revelation is full of tokens of an intimate acquaintance with them. As for the early Church, no one can deny that the Christians of the first two

centuries were well acquainted with these books, as we find express reference to them in many of the Fathers.

What facilities for reading these sacred books of the Essenes would one have, situated as was our Lord? The Essenes were dispersed all over the country, as we shall see presently, and had their houses of call in most of the towns and villages of Judea and Galilee. There would almost certainly be one in Nazareth. In it nightly, after their work was done, the inmates would assemble round the table to their evening meal, and would listen while they ate their simple repast to portions of these sacred books read. This meal was a sacred office with the Essenes, as the Lord's Supper is with ourselves. Indeed, to carry the parallel further, they regarded this feast as a veritable sacrifice, as the Roman Catholics have changed the Lord's Supper into the sacrifice of the Mass.

But it may be urged that strangers would not be permitted to be present at these sacred evening feasts. While this is certainly true, another fact ought also to be borne in mind. There were several different kinds of Essenes. While there was a nucleus that kept the Essene vows with the greatest strictness, there was around this a large mass of sympathisers who were connected more or less loosely with the Essene society, and from these the central brotherhood was recruited. They came themselves, and took on the vows, or they devoted their children to the Essenes to be brought up by them. If, then, Joseph and our Lord's mother belonged to this outer circle of Essenes,

His acquaintanceship with the Essene books becomes easily understood.

It would derogate from His divine insight to hint that He believed that these pseudo-prophecies had come from His Father, yet what an interest they must have had as revealing how the thoughts of men were dwelling on the coming of the Messiah, and how attribute after attribute was being unveiled to those who were anxiously looking for His appearing! It would only be perhaps as a special act of favour that the sacristan would admit this strange Youth to see those sacred books and peruse their contents. But He "grew in favour," and the privilege once granted would never be recalled. Seeing thus the anticipations of His people, and feeling within Him the stirrings of His mighty destiny, He would grow more and more mighty in spirit. In the eventide, when perhaps there were no guests in the dwelling of the Essenes in Nazareth, the Youth, with His lustrous eyes full of thought, would stop before the narrow green side-door that breaks the white surface of the wall of the flat-roofed house near the gate where the Essenes had their lodging. It is opened to Him by the guardian, an old man, most likely with long beard, clad in pure white garments, who leads Him away to the inner room, where, in a *scrinium* or two, the scanty but precious library of the house is kept. The swinging lamp is lit, and there He sits and reads far into the night the strange visions recorded in the Books of Enoch, or of Baruch, about the Son of man who was to sit on the throne of His glory, and before whom all shall appear, and of the blessings of the days of the Messiah.

One thing that intensified at once the Messianic hopes of the Jews and the importance they attached to the discussion of academic questions, was the Roman supremacy. It was only after Athens came under the sway of the Macedonian kingdom that she devoted herself fully to philosophy. It was not in the days of Pericles that the garden, the porch, the academy, and the Lyceum flourished, but when freedom was extinguished; so it was with Judaism. The sceptre had departed from Judah; even the Herodians no longer reigned when the Jews devoted themselves more and more to the study of the Law, with an eagerness that only deepened when Jerusalem was captured and their nation had ceased to be. But though the sceptre had disappeared, the hope that it would be again possessed by Judah in a way it had never been before became all the more intense. Those Messianic hopes founded on the prophecies of the greater prophets, and raised even higher by the study of the Apocalyptic writers, became a dominant factor in Jewish life in the days of our Lord.

Hence to understand the time when Christ was in the world, and the influences then at work, we must master the Apocalyptic books. They, above all, are full of the hope of Messianic times and the glories of the Messianic king; but to understand them, we must realise the background they had. It is necessary, therefore, as a preliminary, to study the times during which these books were written, all the more, that no class of literature is more affected by such influences than the Apocalyptic writings — few classes of literature nearly so much so. The background

of historical events, and of constitution, civil and religious, however important, would give an incomplete idea of things as they then were; we have to consider along with it the contemporary literature of Judaism.

We shall, then, in the sequel consider — 1st, The Background of Apocalyptic; and 2nd, The Historic Evolution of Apocalyptic. As the documents are of importance, we shall add, 3rd, The Criticism of Apocalyptic.

BOOK I.

THE BACKGROUND OF APOCALYPTIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE CONSTITUTION OF PALESTINE, CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS.

OUR Empire in India gives us many illustrations of a state of matters similar to that existing in the Empire of Rome at the time of Herod. From this fact we can piece together the information that we get from Josephus and the New Testament, fragmentary as it is, and form the result into a consistent whole. Round the avowed provinces of the Roman Empire, administered by procurators and proconsuls, were numerous small States administered in the name of native rulers, who had a certain limited authority as allies of the Roman Empire, very much as the Nizam is an ally of Great Britain, and has a certain independent authority, but dare not be the ally of any other power on pain of deposition. When we learn that Herod got into trouble with the emperor because, becoming impatient at the Syrian procurator's delay, he took the law into his own hands and attempted to wreak vengeance on those Arabs whose inroads had led him to appeal to the Roman governor, we realise this clearly. He might be called a king, and might be permitted to maintain a standing army, but he was not to be permitted to break at will the "*pax Romana.*" Suppose Scindia or Holkar in India were to attempt anything similar, he would need all his

parliamentary interest to avoid deposition. When we read of the deposition of Archelaus or Herod Antipas for misgovernment, we remember as a parallel incident the trial of the Gaekwar of Baroda, and the deposition of the King of Oudh. There does not seem to have been an actual Resident, such as we have in the courts of our various subject allies, but through the *publicani* very accurate information reached the nearest Roman governor of all that was transacted in any of these semi-independent States. Herod was in the position of Scindia or Holkar, with this difference, that the territory did not pass from father to son without the distinct consent of the emperor; whereas we admit of the right of inheritance, and allow it to take effect, unless there is some definite reason to the contrary.

The rise of the dynasty of Herod was one of those cases frequent in all history where the mayors of the palace became the rulers of the kingdom. When the two sons of Alexandra—the weak Hyrcanus and the energetic Aristobulus—quarrelled after her death, the former had Antipater as his friend. At first this was to his advantage to all appearance. Certainly Antipater secured in the first instance the victory of Hyrcanus by calling in the help of Pompey. Pompey captured the temple at Jerusalem from the hands of the party of Aristobulus, and led Aristobulus captive in his triumph. Judea now became really a province of Rome, and the transference of the throne from Hyrcanus to Herod only deepened this dependence. Many parallels to the history of Judea at this time may be read in the annals of our conquest of India,—a disputed succession,

the side of the one taken who is least popular; then the necessity soon arises to administer his affairs for him.

Under the Lagid and Seleucid dynasties there was no princely house over the Jewish people; they were directly subject to the king who reigned in Alexandria or in Antioch, as the case might be. There was, however, an element of this Hellenic government which we are apt to neglect. Hellenism even when united to monarchy in the Macedonian rule expressed itself naturally, and indeed necessarily, in the autonomous city. Wherever the successors of Alexander set up their power, there these autonomous cities were established. Right into the centre of the Holy Land ran the territory of the Decapolis—ten cities united together by some sort of league. Many of these cities had been conquered by Alexander Jannæus; but Pompey, acting as the representative of the supreme power of Rome, deprived the sovereign whom he set up at Jerusalem of all rule over these Hellenic cities. Some of them were given afterwards to Herod; but the authority permitted the sovereign over these cities was always precarious, and their existence formed a fruitful occasion of Roman interference in the affairs of subject allies.

One marked difference, however, there was between the Roman method of governing even its provinces and that in which Britain governs India. Only higher matters were brought before the tribunal of the Roman magistrate, whereas in India practically all the magistrates are of British birth, though bound to judge in accordance with Indian or Mohammedan law, as the case may be. Every little town in Judea had its judges, twenty-three in number; and every petty dis-

pute was settled by the intervention of three arbiters. There was, as final Court of Appeal, the Sanhedrin in Jerusalem, with its seventy-one members. Even after Judea had become a Roman province, and the last sign of royalty and independence had departed from Jerusalem with Archelaus, the Sanhedrin had still judicial functions, as may be seen in the trial of our Lord. Their power of life and death was limited; but even in regard to such matters it seems probable that unless the action contained some elements which involved the elastic *læsa majestas*, the Roman authority took little cognisance of their doings. From the trial of the Apostle Paul we learn that the Romans considered themselves at liberty to intervene in a trial at any point that seemed good to them, though it may be noted that the action of Claudius Lysias was protested against by the Jewish representatives at Cæsarea.

At the head of this court sat the high priest, as president or *Nasi*. There was also a vice-president, *Ab-beth-din*, "father of the house of judgment." How he was chosen we have really no means of knowing, as the information to be derived from the Talmud is too late to be worth anything, and neither Josephus nor the New Testament gives us any hint. The whole Talmudic representation goes on the assumption that the Sanhedrin was really an assembly of scholars, and consequently the leading Rabbins of the opposed schools were respectively president and vice-president. It is little likely that the Sadducean priestly party would allow the principal court of the nation to pass so completely out of their hands, that the high priest

should become merely an ordinary member. That he was present at most of the meetings of the Sanhedrin, and presided, seems clear from many facts in the Gospels and the Acts. Although the high priest presided, and was usually a Sadducee, the Pharisaic party seem to have had considerably the preponderance. It goes without saying that the members of the Sanhedrin did not attain their position through election by any body of constituents. Such a method of securing a governing body it was reserved for later days to develop. Men became members of the Sanhedrin by the method of co-optation, a method fitted to maintain the supremacy of the Pharisaic party in the court when once they had secured it.

Round the Sanhedrin gathered all the hopes and aspirations of the national party, alike Pharisaic and Sadducean. All the legal knowledge of the scribes was there; and all the authority with the multitude, which resulted from their acquaintance with the sacred treasure committed to the Jewish people, was united with the ceremonial reverence drawn from the presence in their midst of the high priest.

Although chosen by the ruler for the time being,—Herod or the Roman governors,—the Jewish priest, evil as he might be, seems never to have sunk during the time immediately preceding the Lord to be the mere tool of the Romans or of Herod, in short, never occupied to these later rulers over the land the purely subservient position occupied by Jason and Menelaus during the time of the sovereignty of the Seleucids. The very frequency of the changes in the high priesthood is

indirect evidence of this. We see also how Caiaphas manœuvred against Pilate at the trial of the Lord, and how he baffled the wish of the governor to set Him free.

While the national hope gathered, as we have said, round the Sanhedrin as its natural centre, the hopes of the Hellenising and Romanising party gathered round the palace of Herod. At first sight it is difficult to imagine the existence of a Roman party among the Jews, their national pride and exclusiveness being so prominent in all records of the time. But if their king were an alien, or at all events asserted to be so, if Roman money formed their ordinary coinage, and the Roman *publicani* and their underlings formed quite a marked part of the population, the Jews had still in some limited sense "their place and their nation." All those who had had any opportunity of estimating the power of Rome must have recognised that any attempt at independence was foredoomed to ignominious failure. They would know that any such attempt after having been put down would be punished by denuding the nation of many of the national privileges they still retained. Moreover, they might claim the example of Jeremiah, who counselled submission to Nebuchadnezzar, and of Isaiah, who rebuked Hezekiah for his joining Merodach Baladan in his league against Nineveh. Besides, there were not a few who managed, as did Josephus, to reap personal advantages from the Roman rulers. Rome never seriously attempted to Latinise the East, hence the Roman party joined with the Hellenic. All those who maintained any close relations with Alexandria, or with the flourishing Jewish communities of Asia Minor,

would naturally unite themselves with the Herodian or Roman party.[1]

These two parties stood like hostile armies facing each other, both eager for the combat, but both afraid to begin it. Here and there Zealots might gather together in bands that united ardent patriotism with a desire for plunder, and the Sanhedrin would in a covert way manifest their sympathy with the outlaws; but they dared not openly commit themselves to a conflict with Herod, backed as he was by all the military power of Imperial Rome. Herod might, in his fits of ungovernable rage and suspicion, slay prominent members of the Sanhedrin, but it must be as individuals for individual crimes, not as members of the sacred council. Herod knew well that an appeal might be made from him to the emperor, and that however he might, by dint of intrigue and bribery, maintain some influence in Rome, yet anything like wholesale massacre was likely to be followed by deposition. Thus there was in Judea a state of unstable equilibrium that could not be permanent.

The Roman influence produced many changes in Jewish manners. Slavery had never been an institution that flourished in Israel. The Mosaic law was too merciful to encourage such an institution, and under the Mosaic restrictions it was not advantageous to have slaves. Now slaves became common, so that many of our Lord's illustrations are drawn from the relationship of master and slave. From the Mosaic regulations in regard to inheritance, the possession of

[1] Epiphanius (*Hær.* xx. vol. i. p. 268, Abbe Migne) records the opinion that the Herodians were a party that saw in Herod the promised Messiah.

large estates was discountenanced; but now not only the Herodian family, but the great priestly houses were possessed of large estates. Some of our Lord's parables turn on this also. The fact that the final court of appeal was in every instance Rome, produced a growing tendency on the part of the Jewish nobility to spend much of their time in Rome. If they wished advantage for themselves, or desired to wreak vengeance on their adversaries, intimacies with those who were themselves intimates of the emperors were absolutely necessary. And such intimacies could, as could anything else, be bought in Rome.

The high priest was, as we have seen, the titular head of the Sanhedrin, and as such the head of the national party. This, however, was due to the fact that the high priest was the ceremonial head of the whole nation in its religious aspect. In the earlier pre-exilian days, the Davidic monarchy overshadowed the high priesthood. The anointed of the Lord had as sacred an office in the hierarchy, for the whole state was really a hierarchy, as the priests. The prophetic office, too, was in all its glory; men like Isaiah and Jeremiah were statesmen and poets as well as moral teachers and organs of the Divine Spirit. Kept in the background alike by the kingly and the prophetic office, the high priesthood only occasionally came to the front, as when Hilkiah planned and carried out the revolution that overthrew the usurpation of Athaliah. Whenever Joash grew up we see that he put his foster-father Hilkiah, high priest though he was, into the background. Royalty in the house of David ceased with the Exile, prophecy ceased

with Malachi; but the priesthood still continued, and thus drew to itself all the respect and reverence that had formerly been shared with the kingship and the prophetic college. We see in the rapturous description given by Siracides of the appearance of Simon the high priest to how great an extent this had taken place. Some of Simon's successors were anything but worthy of their office, and were ready to yield to the flood of Hellenism that seemed about to sweep away Judaism bodily. With the persecution of Epiphanes, and the retirement of Onias into Egypt, there was a break in the succession. Then came the gallant struggle of Judas Maccabæus and his brethren, and the consequent change of the high priesthood to the Hasmonæan line. When at length Judea secured independence under Simon the Hasmonæan, the civil supremacy was added to the sacred. He was succeeded by his son, John Hyrcanus; even he, however, did not assume the title of king, but his sons did. The Hasmonæan dynasty continued to unite kingship and priesthood until John Hyrcanus II. was deposed and slain by Herod, the husband of his grand-daughter. After the failure of the Hasmonæan line, the high priesthood ceased to be hereditary, and further, ceased to be a life office. Sometimes, indeed, the high priest occupied the place for little more than a single year. Although the office was not hereditary, the choice seems to have been practically restricted to a few families. It seems the most natural explanation of the high *priests* we see repeatedly mentioned in the Acts, that these were members of those families that had practically a monopoly of the high priesthood.

Besides the high priest, there were a large number of other priests. These were arranged in twenty-four courses, which each took their turn in ministering in the temple; and thus twice in a year the turn of each course came round in which it had to supply ministrants for the sanctuary. Zacharias, the father of John the Baptist, belonged to the eighth course, that of Abia; whereas Josephus tells us with evident pride that he belonged to the first course, that of Jehoiarib. These courses had been originally appointed by David, but after the exile to Babylon they naturally got broken up. Only four of the original courses returned, and they divided themselves so that each family became reckoned as six, and in this way the twenty-four courses were restored. Notwithstanding that they had lost so many by the Exile, for the great majority preferred to remain in Babylon, these were now far too numerous for all to come up to the temple when the turn of their "course" came round. We do not know how the selection of those who were to represent in the ministration of the sanctuary the house of their father was affected, but it probably was by lot. When their week of service was ended, the priests returned to their homes, whether in Jerusalem, in Jericho, or in the hill country of Judea, as in the case of Zacharias, to whom we have referred. There were many priestly cities; but if Rabbinic tradition is in this case to be trusted, a third of the priesthood was resident in Jericho; there was also a large number in Jerusalem, hence the number in the country, exclusive of these two cities, must have been relatively small.

Besides the priests there were also Levites—sons of

Levi—who could not claim descent from Aaron. The assertion that the Zadokite priests were merely the priests of the sanctuary in Zion, while the Levites were the priests of those local sanctuaries called "the high places," which were put down finally by Josiah, and that while the Zadokites maintained their superiority, the other priests were supported by putting them in inferior offices in the temple, may have a grain of truth in it. The story of Micah and his teraphim shows how anxious those proprietors of local shrines were to gain a *quasi* sanction for their sanctuaries by getting "a Levite for their priest." That being so, it is not unlikely that the priests, especially of the Judean high places, would be Levites. It would not follow from this that "Levite" was merely a class name for those dispossessed priests irrespective of any blood connection with Levi. These Levites, like the priests, were divided into twenty-four courses, and also served by weekly turns. One thing ought to be noted, comparatively few Levites came back from the Babylonian captivity. The inferior ceremonial position they would occupy in the temple worship formed no inducement to leave the peace and plenty of Babylon for the privation of Judea.

The sacrifices of the temple necessarily employed a large number of priests. There were the morning and evening sacrifices on the great altar daily. The victim, a lamb, was fastened to a ring, and then the priest approached from behind, in order not to frighten it, and with a knife, sharpened and tested with special care, slaughtered it. The body was then divided into due portions on a marble table, and washed preparatory to being burnt upon the great altar. Each

part of the operation, from the clearing out of the fireplace on the great altar, was arranged by lot. One special duty which a priest only once in his life was permitted to perform, was that of burning incense on the altar as representative of the people. Meantime the Levites, as singers, chanted the sacred psalm for the day, and two priests blew with the silver trumpets as the people assembled for prayer. This morning and evening sacrifice was offered for the whole nation; and the Levites, as the representatives of all the people, raised the song of praise. The whole idea of the temple and its worship was that here the nation had its sacred hearth, and here continual atoning sacrifice was offered and intercessory prayers were presented. The priests and Levites as connected with this of necessity had a prominent place in the national life; the more centralised the worship, in some respects, the more prominent, as the imagination was the more impressed by it The representative character of the priesthood came to its acme in the solemn Day of Atonement, when, bearing the blood of the sacred victim, the high priest entered into the Holiest of All and made atonement, "first for himself and then for the people."

The representative character of the priesthood is brought out by its institution. In every patriarchal or primitive family the father was the priest, and next after him his eldest son. Thus the first-born became peculiarly sacred to the service of Deity, especially among Semitic nations. When a sacrifice was to be offered of special value to appease the gods when some terrible calamity was impending, then the father offered

his son upon the altar, as we see in the case of Mesha, king of Moab, when Jehoram of Israel and Jehoshaphat of Judah were pressing in upon him, and threatening to take his capital. In the earlier history of Israel, the way was opened for Levi gaining the place of the first-born by the sin of Reuben against his father; the sin of Simeon and Levi both against the Shechemites had transferred the place of first-born to Judah, a place that he occupies in the interview with Joseph in the matter of Benjamin. The Levites regained the dignity of priesthood by their zeal for the Lord in the matter of the golden calf. Again, the additional fact that Moses and Aaron belonged to the tribe of Levi, and had led the nation out from the house of bondage, aided the Levites in maintaining their priestly rank. But the most prominent historical incident in the early history of the tribe was the redemption of the first-born, when, instead of the first-born of all Israel—the family priests that is to say—the family of Levi were taken. The house of Levi represented thus the national first-born,—the first-born of Jacob, and then the family first-born,—as each first-born had been redeemed by the consecration of the Levites. The difficulty of disentangling the actual and historical from the symbolic becomes very great in regard to this matter. In the Book of Jubilees we see the influence of the priestly predominance very obvious. Levi and Judah are always put forward; but of the two a great prominence is assigned to Levi, who is represented as family priest even during the life of his father. This view is emphasised by the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs.

While, on the one hand, the return from exile had made the Jewish people value especially the regular service of the temple, on the other hand the seventy years during which the temple had lain desolate had made the people depend for the maintenance of their religious life on other ordinances than that of sacrifice or temple ritual. They had no city which represented the political life of the nation, no temple to be the symbol of its home, no altar to be the national sacred hearth. Any such assembling of themselves together on the part of these deported captives would have been looked at askance by the Babylonian authorities. Yet unless they met together they would soon lose altogether the sense of being one nation. If they could no longer sacrifice they could still pray, and in that way maintain some form of religious life. Above all, they had their law, with its enactments, pervading every nook and cranny of their lives. This threefold necessity led naturally to the synagogue worship. In every city where there was a Jewish community they fixed on some place where they met, most likely the dwelling of some one of the wealthier captives. There they read the law and offered up liturgic prayers; and if they could not offer sacrifice, they sang at least the psalms that had been wont to accompany these sacrifices. It became a city in miniature, a city of Jews within this Gentile city in which they dwelt. As in the city the main authority rested in the council of the elders, so here the elders of the synagogue had the authority, not merely in matters of worship, but also in civil matters. To a great extent in a huge heterogeneous empire like that of Babylon every

nationality was left very much to itself, to be governed by its own laws and in its own way. And what was true of nations was true also of those small communities of captives which were found in many of the Babylonian cities—they were let alone.

When the captives returned to their own land, they introduced the synagogue worship, and spread it among the descendants of those who had never left Judea. At first sight it might be thought that on their return to Judea the synagogue worship would have been abandoned,—if not immediately, at all events when the temple was rebuilt. But the very fact that a considerable interval elapsed before the temple could be rebuilt, and that during that time their only mode of maintaining the worship of their faith was by the mode of service they had learned in Babylon, would lead to the formation of a habit of synagogue worship even in Palestine —and a habit of two generations' growth is difficult to root out at any time. We have to add to this nearly another generation before the temple could be rebuilt, if we would see the whole period during which this habit was being formed and strengthened. Had the temple been already built, when they returned, the change of habits involved in transferring themselves from Babylon to Palestine might have combined with the presence of the temple to induce the abandonment of the worship of the synagogue. Once it had been transplanted to Palestine, it of necessity took root there and flourished. With the founding of Alexandria this new mode of worship spread into Egypt. Indeed, the conquests of Alexander may be said to have opened the world to the Jews; and wherever the

Jews went, there they erected their synagogues. If the number of Jews was too small for a synagogue, at least a *proseucha* was built near some river bank, where the people might assemble for prayer, and for the performance in quiet of the various ablutions ordained by the law.

The officials of the synagogue were somewhat numerous. Besides the elders of synagogue—who were at the same time elders of the city, or, at all events, for the Jewish community in the city, if it were a Gentile one—there was an *archisynagogus*, a ruler of the synagogue, whose duty was specially connected with the right ordering of the worship. Further, there were certain *Gabaei tzadiqah*, receivers of alms (righteousness), and ten *batlanim*, men who were paid to be present at every service in order that there might always be a sufficient number to constitute a congregation. There was also the *minister* (*ḥazzan hakkenneseth*), nearly equivalent to our "beadle," whose duty it was to put the books of the Law or the Prophets before the reader for the day, and to replace them in the sacred ark again after service. He had to administer scourging to those to whom it was adjudged. He taught, as we have already said, the children of the congregation.

In the synagogue the main service, as we have already stated, was reading the Law, repeating liturgic prayers, and singing, or rather chanting psalms. The Law and the Prophets were divided off into portions for each several day, so that the whole Law might be read over in the course of three years. Originally only the *parashoth*, or portions of the Law, were read; but during

the time of the persecution under Epiphanes, when the reading of the Law was forbidden, they read *haphtaroth*, or portions of the Prophets. When the time of tribulation had passed away, they continued the reading of the Prophets along with the Law, as we see in the case of our Lord in the synagogue in Nazareth. The reading of the Law led naturally to the explanation of the Law, and the enforcement of its precepts. There was a considerable divergence in Babylon between the sacred Hebrew in which the Scriptures were written and the Aramaic in which the ordinary business of life had to be carried on. The difference between Dutch and German may convey some idea of the extent of the difference between the two cognate tongues. The Hebrew of the home of necessity gradually became contaminated by the Aramaic of the market-place, so that translation was soon necessary. Mere interpretation was not enough, however; the Law had not only to be understood, but also to be obeyed. In consequence of this, there were a vast number of distinctions devised to meet the difficulties of distressed consciences. These often became means of evading the Law. The Law of *eruth* is an example of this. One might only walk a very limited distance on a Sabbath day—a distance which seems to have varied at different times. At all events, there was permitted a walk of some three-quarters of a mile beyond the walls of the city in which a man dwelt. But should a man desire to go farther, all he had to do was to go the night before within three-quarters of a mile of the place to which he wished to go and eat some food, deposit as much as would serve for another meal, and return to his own house. On

the following day he could reckon his starting-point from that place, the whole intervening distance being regarded by legal fiction as part of his house. This is an example of what are called the *Halachoth.*

Incitement to duty was needed, and interest in the Law required to be excited. This was accomplished by stories, expansions of the text, additions to it, or illustrations of the principles supposed to be contained in it. These were called the *Hagadoth.* The apocryphal additions to Daniel give examples of this. Still better is the Book of Jubilees. They were otherwise called *Midrashim.*

This necessitated a class of persons who had a professional acquaintanceship with the sacred books. This class was the scribes. There were scribes in the days even of David, and all through the time of the kingdoms of Judah and Israel; but they seem merely to have written out decrees, and kept the records of the kingdom. They had no special connection with the sacred books. There must have been sacred scribes too, but they do not come into prominence. The inscriptions in the conduit from Solomon's pools prove the general diffusion of writing among the people to have been greater than some would imagine. The fact that an upper workman could thus commemorate the success of the excavators in meeting underground, though starting from opposite points, is a proof that writing was at least somewhat common. With the captivity and the growth of the synagogue, the office of scribe came into greater prominence. Every synagogue required to possess a book of the Law,—that had to be written by the scribe. Generally also

they had copies of some of the prophets; that implied further writing. As writing was a matter of some labour, there was a long training required, in order that an adequate knowledge might be attained. It is probable that at first there would not be those puerile exactnesses that we find in the present Masoretic text; yet there would be in all probability some germs of what was to come.

From the all-prevailing character of the Jewish Law the influence of these interpreters of it was very great. There were so many ways of falling into sins of ignorance, and so many ways of evading the Law,—of doing the thing one wished to do and yet not breaking the Law,—that the counsels of these scribes were held as invaluable. In fact, latterly, their decisions in explanation of the Law were regarded as being more valuable than the Law itself; while the Law itself was as water, the commentary of the scribes was as wine. What made them of yet greater import, if not importance, was the political position they secured in the Sanhedrin. The members that were added to that court by co-optation were almost all drawn from the class of scribes.

The existence of a learned class like the scribes implies the means of attaining this learning. The scribe, in short, implies the school. In every town there was a teacher of the Law, to whom children were sent from the age of seven. At first the children were under the charge of that functionary whom we have paralleled with our beadle. Then the child was sent to a higher school. What was mainly taught in the first school was the reading of the Law and the recitation

of certain prayers. When the child proceeded to the higher school, he was taught the Mishna. At length the pupil was sent to Jerusalem, where were the special academies in which the Gemara was taught. Such is the account we get from the Jewish tracts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and downwards. It is probably, while incorrect in form, not far from the truth in the matter. It would certainly be the tradition of the fathers the youth was taught whenever he passed beyond childhood. From these academies in Jerusalem, presided over by men like Hillel or Shammai or Gamaliel, the leading members of the Sanhedrin came.

There is certainly much in the synagogue worship which is preparatory to the worship of the Christian Church. Above all is the use of preaching, which became the great instrument of evangelising the world. In his Hibbert Lecture, Dr. Hatch maintains that preaching came from the Greek philosophic schools; but the proof is deficient.

CHAPTER II.

THE SAMARITANS.

IT has been thought one of the peculiar felicities of our British Constitution that there should be always two leading political parties,—the party of advance and the party of stability. Between the extreme wings of each party there is an infinite gradation of changing opinion, and according as that middle portion swings forward or falls back, do we advance or stand still. So great was this advantage thought to be, that the framers of the Constitution of the United States introduced a similar element into it. There is the party that would broaden State rights, as against those of the central government; and there is the party that would increase the function of the central authority at the expense of State rights. Every form of government, except absolute despotism, has in these days political parties, and all these parties represent tendencies pointing to the future.

In the Greek cities there were also parties. The oligarchic and the democratic factions strove each to get the mastery over the other, and the long and fierce Peloponnesian war was really a conflict between oligarchy and democracy. Here it was two theories of the State that were at war. In the Middle Ages, when savagery in some respects came back upon the world, there were

factions that had no basis of thought or theory, it was simply an individual's name or claim that formed the point of union. This affected even the republics of that period, as may be seen in the history of the Italian Republics, with their feuds between Montagues and Capulets, between Bianchi and Neri.

After the Greek cities became subject to the Macedonian rule they ceased to have sufficient political life to have parties. They had factions certainly, but these expressed themselves in riots and no more. The real life of Greece went out into philosophy, and the conflict of opinion occupied the minds of those whose ancestors had debated the questions of peace and war, and had entertained the envoys of the great king. This conflict of opinion was, however, in the region of the purely abstract, and these parties had no political meaning. In our own day we have, in religious matters, sects and parties that have mainly a basis of thought and opinion, and have certainly some political significance; but a significance that results from causes external to these sects themselves.

Sects among the Jews were unlike our political parties and unlike our denominations, and yet they had points which bring them in line with both. They were unlike the Greek political parties and unlike philosophic schools, and yet they had many points of resemblance to both.

We must bear in mind that each of the four sects of the Jews occupied the position it did in relation to its fellows from reasons peculiar to itself alone. There was no hard and fast line of logical division on one side of which every one said "yes," and on the other every

one said "no" to certain questions. They were not so much like separate branches of one and the same tree, as like separate trees in the same soil. The mention of the soil brings to remembrance the fact that, unlike our religious sects, which may roughly be said to embrace among them the whole population, those sects left the *Am haaretz*, the people of the land, greatly unaffected.[1] This is true of the strictly Jewish sects. It is, however, necessary, if one wishes to gain a notion of what really the tendencies of thought in Palestine were, to know not only the three sects, whose doctrines Josephus expounds to us, but also the doctrines of the Samaritans.

We have, then, to consider four different sections of those who inhabited Palestine, all claiming the same ancestry, all using the same sacred books, at least so far as the Pentateuch was concerned, and all claiming to worship the same God and in the same way. We have, first, the Samaritans, geographically distinct from the Jews, and distinct also from them in race, if the evidence of the Jews is to be received; next, we have the Sadducees, the party of the priestly aristocrats, holding views more by way of negation to those of the Pharisees, simply because the Pharisees advanced them, than as having been associated in order to defend those anti-Pharisaic views; next, we have the Pharisees or legal Puritans, who carried out to logical completeness the law as the people in general interpreted it. Last of all, we have the mysterious party, the Essenes, who represent, if their views have been correctly described,

[1] Most people who desired to be thought religious seem to have belonged to one or other of the sects as adherents.

a development of Jewish thought totally unlike anything else in Judaism, and manifesting peculiarities which bring them specially within our sphere as investigating the origin of the apocalyptic writings.

When the ten tribes broke off from the Davidic kingdom they betook themselves to the old tribal worship which preceded the temple worship at the one great altar of the nation but with modifications; Jeroboam, falling back on some tradition of the golden calf, introduced image worship,—an addition which not improbably continued to shock religious people even among his own subjects, as we see from Hosea.[1] The Northern kingdom, despite its apostasy and the repeated revolutions to which it was subject, became very much more powerful than its southern neighbour, though it, by the continuance of the Davidic dynasty, was free from civil overturns. Powerful though Israel was as compared with Moab, Ammon, or Edom, it was still very inferior to the great empires of Assyria and Egypt. The latter had sunk from the warlike to the diplomatic stage, and endeavoured, by means of intrigues carried on in all the petty courts of Syria, to hamper the advance of its vigorous rival from the banks of the Tigris. After a season of comparative decrepitude, under Shalmaneser II., Syria was assailed by the Ninevite power. Ahab joined Benhadad to repulse the invader; but at length under a later monarch, Tiglathpileser, a large portion of the country was overrun, and its principal inhabitants deported,—a process that was carried out to greater completeness by Shalmaneser IV. and Sargon.

[1] viii. 5, x. 8, xiii. 2.

Into a country left desolate thus by the tramp of Eastern armies and by the deportation of a large proportion of the survivors, colonists from distant parts of the Assyrian empire were sent by the conqueror to Samaria. During the interval between the final deportation and the sending the new colonists, the country had become savage, and wild beasts had multiplied. In their terror at the wrath of the god of the land, whom they considered they had excited against themselves, they prayed the Assyrian monarch to send them a priest to teach them "the manner of the god." At first they mingled the worship of Jehovah with the worship of their former gods; but gradually, through association with the inhabitants left in the land, they abandoned their idolatry wholly, and became worshippers of Jehovah alone. When the Jews of the Southern kingdom commenced to rebuild their temple, the Samaritans evidently had passed beyond the tribal standpoint, and were anxious to unite with the Southern kingdom in the worship of Jehovah. Until Ezra came it would appear that the Jews had no special objection to this idea, indeed they seem to have contemplated a complete fusion of the peoples. How far the action of Ezra and Nehemiah in resisting this was wise or right may be doubted. The result of it was that ere very long a temple was built in Mount Gerizim, to which the Samaritans attributed all the sanctity that the Jews ascribed to Mount Zion.

Of the history of the Samaritans during the later Persian period as little is known as concerning that of the Jews during the same time. Josephus represents them as trying to secure the favour of Alexander the

Great for themselves, and to envenom the conqueror against their neighbours; and this failing, they declared themselves Jews. In this there is no inherent improbability. Under the Lagid princes the hatred between Jew and Samaritan seems to have continued unabated, but no overt acts of special malevolence are recorded. Both Samaritans and Jews had representatives among the colonists in Alexandria, and their feuds sprang out afresh there on the occasion of the Septuagint translation being made. The Samaritans had interpolated into the Pentateuch a statement that Mount Gerizim was the place where God was to be worshipped. This statement was not found in the Septuagint, hence the quarrel. During the Maccabean struggle the Samaritans were against the Jews; and when, finally, the cause of the Jews prevailed under John Hyrcanus, he wreaked the national vengeance on them by burning Samaria and overturning the temple in Mount Gerizim. The power of the Maccabean kingdom went down before the Romans in little more than a generation from this time, and the Samaritans had to some extent their national position restored to them by Gabinius; but only for a little while, for by Augustus, Samaria was added to the dominions of Herod. After Herod's death Samaria along with Judea formed the dominion of Archelaus. When Archelaus was deposed, and Judea became a procuratorship, Samaria was still united to Judea. Sometimes the bitter hatred of the one against the other expressed itself in outrage, as when the Samaritans defiled the temple during the feast of the Passover by scattering dead men's bones in the holy place.

On the outbreak of the war, which resulted in the fall of Jerusalem, they did not maintain their separation from the Jews, and thus did not escape altogether the destruction that befell their southern neighbours. In his march towards Jerusalem from Galilee, the fact that 3000 Samaritans had taken up a position on Mount Gerizim necessitated Vespasian to send a detachment to capture the place, which they did. The Samaritans are little heard of during the long period that followed. They are little referred to by the Fathers. Justin Martyr, geographically a Samaritan, takes no note of their religious position. He himself was a heathen by birth, but still their neighbourhood to his birthplace would lead one to expect him to know something of them. Simon Magus, mentioned in the Acts, if we may trust Irenæus, had a considerable following among the Samaritans. After this, with the exception of Hippolytus and Epiphanius, the Samaritans may be said to disappear. There were edicts against them issued by several of the Christian emperors, and in consequence they were scattered over the Levant.

In the Jewish writings there are several accounts of the Samaritans, all disrespectful, and none of them trustworthy. Among other things they are accused of worshipping a dove, and disbelieving in angels and in the immortality of the soul and the resurrection of the body. In the beginning of this century M. Sylvestre de Sacy opened communications with the small surviving remnant of the Samaritans, and discovered that these Jewish accusations were utterly false. The only excuse for the assertion that they worshipped a dove seems to have been, that a dove was embroidered on the

cloth that covered the ark where they kept the book of the law. They believed in good angels, but not in an Archangel. They reckoned the obligation to sacrifice had ceased with the disappearance of the tabernacle. Like the Jews, they had Messianic hopes; but it was of necessity not an anointed king, a descendant of David, but an anointed prophet, "one like unto Moses," that they expected. They still remain a small remnant in the neighbourhood of their old sacred place, still going through the rites of their old worship, and still maintaining their claim to be descendants of Israel. It seems their main points of difference from the Jews are now on matters of phylacteries and fringes.

They have a version of the Pentateuch and of Joshua which differs in several points from the Masoretic text. The claim made for this by the Samaritans themselves is, as may be supposed, that it has come to them directly from the ten tribes. It is asserted that appended to the ancient manuscript preserved by the remnant of the Samaritans in Sichem, is a declaration that it was the work of Abisha, the son of Phinehas, the son of Eleazar, the son of Aaron, in the thirteenth year after taking possession of the land of Canaan; but the scroll with these words has not been seen by any of the many scholars who have examined this ancient *codex*. There is no question that if such an inscription were found it would be a forgery. Not only is the manuscript much later than the date implied in this alleged inscription, but the recension itself is evidently of much later date. When it was first brought to Europe, scholars, especially belonging to the Romish Church, were inclined to put a high value on the

readings of the Samaritan Pentateuch, regarding that recension far above the Masoretic. Closer examination destroyed any idea of superior antiquity, although the arguments from the mistaken letters which would go to prove that it was copied into the present Samaritan characters out of the square Hebrew may not be worthy of implicit credit. One thing may be noted, that, with the exception of the assertion above referred to, that Gerizim, not Zion, was the place where God would put His name, there is no evidence to be drawn of the opinions of the Samaritans from their recension of the Pentateuch. Some writers have seen traces of Samaritan influences in the Book of Jubilees; but this view is a mistaken one.

CHAPTER III.

THE SADDUCEES.

THE class we have just been considering was separated from the Jews proper by a *quasi* national difference. The two nationalities were both worshippers of Jehovah, but difference of nationality meant no real essential difference in mode of worship. But now in taking up the Sadducees, we enter the region of Judaism properly so called. The origin of the Sadducean party is one that has been much discussed, and on which no thoroughly reliable opinion can be formed. A certain Antigonus of Socho, said to be a scholar of Simeon the Just, and thus a younger contemporary of Alexander the Great, is recorded to have warned men against following righteousness merely for the reward of Heaven. He was alleged to have had a disciple named Zadok, and from him the Sadducees are said to have taken their rise. The existence even of Antigonus the master is sufficiently doubtful, seeing it is only vouched for by late Talmudic authority, and therefore that of his disciple Zadok is also doubtful. The fact that he has a Greek name makes it almost certain that at all events Antigonus belonged to a later time. It was not until the time of Philadelphus that it became common in Palestine for Jews to assume Greek names. A considerable number of writers have

adopted this old Rabbinic view. Another view, supported by Cohen, is that the name is descriptive, and means simply the righteous. To this it may be objected that the word Sadducee seems to be derived, not from *zaddik* (צַדִּיק), but from *zadûk* or *zadok* (צדוק), the name of the Davidic high priest. Since the days of David one of the family of Zadok always fulfilled the function of the high priest, and from this the priests were spoken of as "sons of Zadok." According to some, it is from this old Zadok that the name of Sadducee comes, and it is held to mean a member of the priestly party. While it is certainly true that as a matter of history the Sadducees were the sacerdotal party, still it is not improbable that there was a certain play on the resemblance of the words, which had this excuse, that the name itself was evidently intended when applied to the person to mean "righteous." They most probably claimed respect on the plea that they represented in their adhesion to the law the meaning of the name, while they claimed the emoluments and immunities connected with the priesthood from the fact that they were the descendants of Zadok, the priest of the days of David.

Mere questions of etymology are less important in matters such as we are here considering than historical facts. In investigating the history of Sadduceeism there is the difficulty to be encountered that in earlier times the name does not appear at all. Not only so, but even the events themselves are lost in obscurity. The space of nearly a century elapsed between the death of Artaxerxes Longimanus and the invasion of Alexander the Great, yet of it Josephus chronicles nothing; in

fact, he seems unaware that there was more than one Artaxerxes, and appears to imagine that Darius Codomannus succeeded Artaxerxes Longimanus. It is scarcely possible to believe that he does not confound Sanballat who lived in the time of Nehemiah with one alleged to live in the time of Alexander the Great. In these circumstances, it is not surprising that we know nothing of Jewish history during the missing century. At the end of the period, the high priest seems to occupy without rival the principal place in the nation. The position is one to be intrigued for, and even is one for the attainment of which some would shrink from no crime.

Of the early Greek period we are nearly as ignorant as of the later Persian period; we know more of the external vicissitudes of the Jewish nation, but as little of its internal condition. This much is clear, the hereditary priestly class ruled the internal affairs of the nation. We see in this class a great desire to adopt Greek manners, and even abandon those portions of the law that most marked the Jewish nation off from all others. The priestly party was thus at the same time the aristocratic party and the Hellenizing party. That it should be the former is not extraordinary; but that it should be the latter is more strange, but is due doubtless to the contact with the Greeks imposed upon them by their position as the civil heads of the nation.

While the Lagid princes left the Jews very much to themselves, the Seleucids wished to hurry the process of Hellenization: especially Antiochus Epiphanes did so, in order that he might weld his empire into one, and thus be able to present an undivided front to the

encroachments of Rome. The aristocracy yielded in the main; only the Ḥasidim resisted, headed by Mattathias the priest of Modin and his sons. As the struggle progressed, the sacerdotal party joined the patriots and got some control in its councils, with the result that the Ḥasidim moved off from Judas Maccabæus. He died in battle, and was succeeded by Jonathan first, then Simon, each of them more and more associating themselves with the party to which by descent they naturally belonged. The Ḥasidim held that the sacred people were not merely to keep themselves separate and free to worship God according to the law of their fathers, but that they must also make no treaties with Gentiles, and take no part in the intrigues of the court of Antioch. The priestly party were past-masters in the arts of diplomacy, and would have none of these puritanic notions. While this went on there was no violent outbreak of dissatisfaction with the Hasmonæan rule. So long as Simon lived, gratitude for what he and his brothers had done and suffered for the cause was strong enough to keep down dissatisfaction. Simon was made high priest and prince, and these honours were to be hereditary. John Hyrcanus was still more of the politician, therefore more of the Sadducee,—for we may now begin to use this term,—than his father. The process begun by circumstances was precipitated by the insult offered to the memory of his mother at his table by a Pharisee. The result was that John Hyrcanus threw himself into the arms of the Sadducees.

The sons of John Hyrcanus carried their favour for the Sadducees even further, Alexander Jannæus even going the length of instituting a severe persecution

of the Pharisees. The events of his reign somewhat modified his views; and his widow, who succeeded him, threw herself into the arms of the Pharisaic party. Certainly the persecution of Alexander Jannæus had been fierce: he had, it is said, crucified eight hundred of the Pharisaic party. Now, when they had the power, every one that had had any part in that tragedy suffered death. How far the proscription of the Sadducean party would have gone it is impossible to say; but Aristobulus interposed, and his mother, recognising the services in military and civil matters which the Sadduceans had rendered the State, used her influence to stop the persecutions. Not long after Alexandra Salome fell sick, and died. After the death of Salome, her two sons, Aristobulus and John Hyrcanus, represented the two parties, and they brought the difference between the parties to the arbitrament of the sword. Always the party of business and diplomacy, the Sadducees gained the mastery at first; but rougher methods prevailed.

Their relation to the law must be noted. They took the text of the Pentateuch as it came to them, and rigidly opposed themselves to all changes. From the fact that they were the sacerdotal party, the terms in which any set of ceremonies was enjoined was enough for them. Religion among the Greeks had become merely ceremonial observance, and the Sadducees, the party most associating with the Greeks and having most to do with sacrifices, naturally reduced Judaism to the same level. But to ceremonial the mode of doing anything is the all-important matter, hence the statements of the law were not to be tampered with or

explained; everything must stand still. Religion was merely an external thing, useful for amusing the masses and keeping them in check, but not for any educated man really to believe in seriously; hence any change from within was to be deprecated. They themselves, however, moved by their contact with Greek thought, had not been unfruitful, and they took more to Greek philosophy than to Greek religion. It is to be noted as a singular thing that popularly the greater philosophies of Plato and Aristotle had fallen into the background as compared with Stoicism and Epicureanism. The latter form of thought, if we are to believe Josephus, had influenced them more than the former. The latter enabled them to talk glibly about sacred matters, but had no moral earnestness. They met the Pharisaic dogmas, drawn from interpretations of the law and the prophets asserted to be handed down by tradition, by demanding verbal proof from the law that such was enjoined, and by casting ridicule on these traditions. It may be doubted whether they held the immortality of the soul; they certainly did not hold the resurrection of the body. They did not believe in Divine Providence; with them Jehovah was like the Greek deities; according to Epicurus, He lived apart from the world and careless of mankind. They could not therefore believe in a God that continually guided His people in the world, as of old Israel had been guided through the desert by a pillar of fire and cloud. The affairs of the nation were to be guided on principles of earthly policy without any dependence on Providence.

While they held by the legislative portions, they

evidently treated the historical portions of the Pentateuch rationalistically. We are told, Acts xxiii. 8, that the Sadducees did not believe in angels. If this is to be taken absolutely, then the account of angelic appearances which we find in the Pentateuch must all have been explained away. It might have been that, while believing in angels having appeared in ancient times to the fathers, they disbelieved all alleged appearances in their own day. The narrative referred to does not necessarily imply more than this, for the Pharisees proclaim their willingness to acknowledge that Paul might have been addressed by an angel.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the body does not stand on that footing. It is most probable that intercourse with the Greeks had to do with their repudiation of this doctrine. To the Greeks, as we learn from what took place when Paul preached on Mars Hill, it was foolishness; they could not comprehend what was meant by the resurrection of the body, and thought the word *Anastasis* was the name of a new goddess whom Paul proposed to introduce to the worship of the Athenians. Associating continually with those who thus regarded the very notion of the resurrection as incomprehensible, it was but natural that the Sadducees should not believe in it themselves.

Another thing that followed from their political preoccupations, was a total neglect of the Messianic hopes of Israel. The coming of a Messiah would be the destruction of the whole fabric they had been building up. It would be the introduction of an incalculable factor in the problem of Jewish politics. Not less was

it to be objected that their opponents the Pharisees, and still more the Essenes, looked for the Messiah; hence the triumph of the Messiah would be their definite overthrow. Sacrifices and all the temple worship might be changed if the prophet like unto Moses should arise, and then they, the priestly party, would be deprived of the functions that had given them importance. But chiefest of all the motives that influenced them was the fear expressed by Caiaphas, that the Romans would come and take away their place and their nation.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PHARISEES.

THERE are few but have pretty distinct notions of what is meant when a man is declared to be a Pharisee. Literature is full of characters that express the common view by what, it cannot be denied, is caricature. It seems to some that in the New Testament we have the highest evidence for the truth of this view, which may roughly be stated as identifying Pharisee and hypocrite, — the difference between the two being that, if anything, the Pharisee is the worse. If there be an element of unconsciousness in the Pharisee,—unconsciousness, to a certain extent, that he is insincere,—there is a further element of censoriousness in regard to others on the one hand, and self-complacency on the other, with regard to himself in very small outside accuracies of conduct. Such is very much the notion we have when we speak of Pharisaism, or hear a Pharisee referred to.

Our Lord certainly has denounced the Pharisees in the severest terms as "whitened sepulchres," as "saying and not doing," as "devouring widows' houses," and "for a pretence making long prayers." In the parable of the Pharisee and the publican, we have the self-complacent nature of the Pharisee presented to us

forcibly, and his desire to be seen of men—to get all the credit he thought he deserved. Such is the picture presented to us by one that could not lie, and who knew what was in man.

Such a result, however, is not the natural product of Judaism; it means a long course of decadence from a high moral elevation. If hypocrisy is but pinchbeck virtue, were there no gold there would be no pinchbeck. In the seventeenth century, plays and satires assailed hypocrites—as of necessity from their function they were obliged to do. The hypocrites of the playwright were the Puritans. While, on the one hand, no one can deny the wonderful power the Puritans had of doing and daring when they were at their best, nor their courageous suffering for righteousness' sake when that was required of them, it can scarcely be denied that there were false Puritans as well as true, else the satires would have had no point. In Scotland we had the Covenanters, who supplied a later generation with their models of hypocrites. Later still in England the Quakers and the Methodists were pilloried in the same way.

Every class associating much together gets certain tricks of manner in common, certain tones of voice, and certain pet phrases. These have been unconsciously adopted, one person from another, and when one of the sect thinks of those serious matters which unite him to his fellow-sectarians, he naturally by association assumes the tones and mannerisms of the society. All that is outside and connected with manner is easily imitable, hence any one who wishes to gain the advantage of being reputed to possess its virtues imitates the

mannerisms of the sect. This seems to have been the history of the sect of the Pharisees.

In the First Book of the Maccabees (ii. 42) we are told that in the beginning of his conflict against Antiochus Epiphanes, Mattathias was joined by a company of "Assidæans who knew the law," and "were men of valour." The meaning of the term "Assidæan" (חֲסִידִים) is *pious*. This, then, was a company of pious men of valour. When they are mentioned as joining the Hasmonæans, it is not as a new and previously unknown class of persons. They were connected, according to some,[1] with the older scribes and students of the law. They came from their studies, threw away roll and stylus, and manifested their zeal for the law by grasping sword and spear in its defence. Their actions and their tenets so far as we know them make them parallel very much with the Cameronians in Scotland—those implacable hill-folk that took to the "bent" rather than acknowledge an uncovenanted king. During the earlier part of the struggle against Antiochus they were with Judas, and formed the flower of his army.

Their zeal for the law sometimes led them into difficulties. When Bacchides came bearing with him Alcimus, a legitimate descendant of Aaron, they were anxious to make peace with him; and paid the penalty of their legalism with their lives, for sixty of them perished through the treachery of that unworthy descendant of Aaron. Zealous as they were for the cause of national independence with which the Hasmonæans had identified themselves, their zeal was somewhat

[1] Cohen.

dashed by the fact that the political Sadducean party began to secure an influence in the councils of Judas Maccabæus. Led by these hereditary diplomats, Judas made a treaty with the Romans. One easily sees how the Ḥasidim would regard such a treaty by recalling the attitude assumed by the Cameronians to the Prince of Orange. This feeling of suspicion against Judas produced bitter fruit at the battle of Eleasa, where these Ḥasidim, who had formerly been such valiant soldiers, deserted him, and so Judas was defeated and slain. Their conscience was injured by this treaty with a heathen power, and conscience makes cowards of us all (1 Macc. ix. 4). After the death of Judas, the Hasmonæans became more and more politically wise, and learned to balance one claimant to the Syrian throne against another, and entered into entangling alliances with heathen potentates,—with the result that the Ḥasidim fall more and more into the background, and mercenary troops are employed in war.

We have here assumed that the Ḥasidim and the Pharisees were really the same party. The evidence for this is mainly the fact that the parties occupied much the same relation to the Hasmonæan rulers on the one hand, and to the external nationalities on the other. Further, the names Pharisees and Ḥasidim regarded etymologically are not really different; the *Ḥasidim* mean the "saints," the *Parûshim* mean the "separate." A similar historic change of name occurs in our own country in the case of those who were called Puritans in the seventeenth century being now called Nonconformists. In their first appearance they were zealous

for the law, and were called "saints" on account of their reverence for it; but when the Hasmonæans associated themselves with the priestly aristocracy, then the Ḥasidim separated themselves from them and became *Parûshim*, "separate." The word might be rendered "dissenters" without straining the meaning greatly. The Pharisees "dissented" from the policy and practices of the governing party, and from the form of religion established by law.

We have seen that the Sadducean party was essentially a political one, and that what religious notions it defended against the Pharisees, it was led to assume out of antagonism to them and in self-defence. On the other hand, the Pharisees were essentially a religious party to begin with, and were compelled to take political action by necessity of their position. Thus the Puritans in England and the Presbyterians in Scotland, during the seventeenth century, while primarily religious parties, ere the century had reached the middle of its course, were triumphant political powers. The history of the Pharisaic party seems to have been very similar; in the first place, they are eager for a reformation purely puritanic and precisian in its character; then, on finding that their views were not followed in regard to alliances and other matters, they broke away, and, like the Presbyterian clergy in Scotland with James I., rebuked their rulers to the face. In some cases, notably that in which the final breach occurred between Hyrcanus and them, the Pharisees were clearly in the wrong. On the vamped-up story that his mother had once been a captive, Eleazar, a Pharisee, demanded that John Hyrcanus surrender the high priesthood. The

sting of this lay in the implication that she had yielded her honour to her captor. John Hyrcanus became avowedly a Sadducee.

While Wellhausen regards it as laughable (*lächerlich*) to call the Pharisees, as Cohen does, the democratic party, there yet is a sense in which it is true. There is no natural connection between puritanism and republicanism; yet in the great struggle between Charles I. and his Parliament it is well known on which side the Puritans were. That they were the ecclesiastical opponents of the aristocratic Sadducees necessitated their being democratic. While thus politically democratic, no aristocrat held the "people" in profounder contempt than did the Pharisee,—they were the people of the earth (*am haaretz*), עַם־הָאָרֶץ, the "people that know not the law," and are cursed (John vii. 49). Even contact with one of the despised common people defiled. Were the wife of one of them left alone in a room of a Pharisee's house, all within her reach was reckoned unclean.[1] At first sight it seems strange that such contempt of the people should be repaid by them with unbounded respect, but we see the same thing with regard to the Popish clergy in Ireland. In Ireland, also, we see the members of the official aristocracy of the priesthood allying themselves with the democratic party.

They were, moreover, in sympathy with the people in their Messianic hopes. In every time of deepest depression Israel always had an outlook to the future;

[1] This, however, rests simply on the evidence of the Talmud. It is not impossible that the *am haaretz* meant simply the non-Jewish inhabitants of the land—Judea or any other country where the Jews were.

there was always the Messianic time and the Messianic King to be hoped for,—the King who would right their wrongs and break the yoke of the oppressors, who should bring in the time of universal joy and peace. To this hope the Pharisees gave scientific precision, and supplied it with scriptural proof. While this made them popular with the people, it of necessity exposed them to the wrath of the aristocracy, and of the aristocratic Hasmonæan kings.

The assumption of kingship by the sons of John Hyrcanus was a violence done to the Messianic hope, which declared for a king only in the lineage of David. Since the Pharisees denounced the assumption of regal honours by Alexander Jannæus as usurpation, it was but natural that the haughty high priest and king should respond with a wasting persecution, which resulted in a rebellion that, fostered by the heathen powers outside, worked disastrously. At his death he was succeeded, as we have said above, by his wife Salome, or to give her the Greek name by which she is more generally known, Alexandra. As a legacy he had left her, with the kingdom, the advice to trust herself to the Pharisees. The Pharisees showed themselves as willing to tyrannise as their predecessors, so a reaction set in, and the Herodian family finally seated themselves on the throne. When this was accomplished, of necessity the Pharisees were the popular party. Herod they opposed, because he was not only not a descendant of David, but was not even an Israelite. If the Hasmonæans had allied themselves with Rome, Herod subjected himself to Rome, and toadied to Roman fashions and Roman wishes. All this

hatred against Rome as the real oppressor—against Herod as the tool of Rome—concentrated itself in the Pharisees, and found expression through them. As the exponents of popular feeling, the Pharisees were thus the popular party.

Another thing that gives a democratic complexion to the Pharisaic sect, is the fact that many of their most famous teachers came from the lowest ranks, and wrought with their own hands for their support, even while influencing the opinions of their countrymen. This was the case with Hillel, according to the account in the Talmud. Although of Davidic descent, he was so poor that, to support himself, he had to act as a day-labourer, and found it difficult to get money to pay the porter for admittance to the Beth-Midrash or school; sometimes he failed to get enough; then, in his eagerness for learning, he took advantage of a window and listened at it; and on one occasion he sat there during a winter's night in the snow, and was taken down the following day—the Sabbath—half-frozen. This exploit made him free of the schools. He repaid his teachers by his diligence, so that his learning became marvellous. He was made president of the Sanhedrin, and enjoyed that honour as long he lived, till he was one hundred and twenty. Our only authority for his existence is the Talmud; and evidently many features in this account of him and his history are false. He probably did exist, and was a teacher of some note, though Josephus does not mention him; that he was not president of the Sanhedrin is certain. The assertion is merely a specimen of the vagaries of the Talmud. The fact

that the accounts of Hillel and other Pharisees inculcating high moral precepts were written some four centuries after Christ, disposes effectually of the pretence that our Lord borrowed from Hillel.

Another fable of the Talmud is that there were pairs of teachers at the head of the Sanhedrin—respectively president and vice-president. Of these, that composed of Hillel and Shammai was the most famous, that is to say, the most spoken of in the Talmud. They are contrasted characters, who probably existed; whether they spoke any one of the numerous speeches assigned to them in the Talmud is very doubtful. In these Talmudic legends Hillel is represented as always gentle and ready to take the merciful view of things, whereas Shammai always took the more strict and severe view of matters. Each, so runs the Talmud, had a school or following. This is so far probable that there is a constant reference to the stricter and freer views on given points; and these are attributed, the first to the B'ne Shammai, and the second to the B'ne Hillel. One thing that throws suspicion on the whole matter is that neither in Josephus, the New Testament, nor Philo is there any reference to these disputes. In both Josephus and the New Testament there is reference to a class of Zealots who may be the followers of Shammai. The Talmud, however, makes no reference to the bloodthirsty violence of the Shammaites,—a characteristic that is the leading one of the Zealots in Josephus.

Josephus in one place, indeed, speaks of these Zealots as if they were quite separate from the Pharisees, and formed a fourth philosophic school. Such an aspect is eminently unsuitable to the real facts of the case.

No set of persons could be less like a philosophic sect than those wild fanatics. If one had only Josephus' account of the wars of the Jews, one would be apt to regard these Zealots as taking their origin with the trouble which immediately preceded the campaigns of Vespasian and Titus; but the fact that one of the apostles of our Lord belonged originally to this class, proves the incorrectnesss of this view. Paul also, if we may follow Ewald's interpretation of Gal. i. 14, in which the apostle says he "was exceedingly zealous for the traditions of the fathers," may have been a Zealot. The movement began evidently much earlier. In his *Antiquities* Josephus attributes the rise of this sect to Judas the Galilean, whose rising took place A.D. 6. But the movement may really be dated back to the time when the Rabbin Judas and Matthias headed their scholars in hewing down the eagle Herod had caused to be placed over the gate of the temple.

The account Josephus gives of their manners and methods reminds one of the Nihilists in Russia at the present time. They sat in secret tribunal, and doomed to death those whom they imagined to be in their way. The execution of the sentence was committed to certain members of the sect, and by them was carried out. In the history of Scotland we have the rise of a sect that bore considerable resemblance to these Zealots. The Presbyterians were practically subdued by the dragoons of Claverhouse, except the Cameronians, to whom we have already referred; and though not to be mentioned in the same breath with such men as Simeon ben Gamaliel or John of Gischala, yet they condemned to death those who were

obnoxious to them, as we see in the murder of Archbishop Sharp on Magus Moor. Other lesser criminals were, we know, condemned by them and executed in a similar summary fashion.[1] Indeed, to men with the Pharisaic belief in a coming Messiah, who would deliver Israel from all their enemies, the quiet standing still that was required of them would be very difficult to maintain. The more thoroughly they were imbued with the certainty of the coming Messianic times and Messianic glory, the more difficult would it be for them to wait. They would be prone to hasten the approach of the Lord by coming to His help against the mighty. Springing from the Pharisees, they had really the same general tenets. But while the school of Hillel was contemplative, the Zealots were essentially men of action.

Of course, as the disorder increased, the Zealots came more and more into prominence. A fever of excitement seized the nation, and this was aggravated by outrages perpetrated on their countrymen in the Greek cities where they were resident. Murders of the cruellest sort took place, and wholesale massacres, of which the victims were Jews. Each successive governor was—with the sole exception of Festus, who lived but a short time—worse than his predecessor. Each procurator was ravenous for money, and justice, like everything else, was sold. Every now and then Roman contempt for everything Jewish was made cynically manifest by deeds in which Jewish national feelings were outraged. All this tended to make the

[1] The relation of the German reformers to the Anabaptists somewhat resembles that of the Pharisees to the Zealots.

Zealots prominent, who declared that as they were God's people, fighting for God's cause, God would protect His own, and they would thus be sure of victory. The milder school that ordinarily represented the Pharisees in the Sanhedrin were overborne; even the priestly Sadducean party, whose whole strength lay in adherence to Rome, were swept away by the torrent of popular feeling. When the Roman conqueror pressed on to Jerusalem, and shut in the various contending Jewish sects within the walls of Jerusalem, there was a perfect carnival of slaughter. The terrible story is too familiar in the pages of Josephus to need repetition. The remnant of the milder schools betook themselves, before the final struggle, to Jabne, and devoted themselves to the composition of those restrictions and definitions which in a century and a half later formed the Mishna. But the Zealots did not wholly disappear in spirit, though the party externally was annihilated. It took another rising and another series of terrible sieges and overthrows to convince the Jews that they were not so favoured by God as to be able to throw off the Roman yoke—that they had ceased to be the inheritance of the Almighty.

Their lofty Messianic expectations and the confidence they had in divine angelic aid, despite all their bloodthirsty cruelty, make them more akin to the class who wrote the Apocalypses than the Sadducees,[1] or even the quieter Pharisees of the school of Hillel. An excitable fanatic sect like the Zealots was the very

[1] Montet's idea, that the Zealots were half Sadducean, is untenable on the face of it. (*Les Sadduceens et les Pharisiens.*)

public to devour with avidity the tales of strange visions of Messianic times as seen by this or that great prophet of the past. But there is a want in them of that contemplative faculty so prominent in these books.

This Messianic hope seems to have attracted these fanatics to our Lord, however unlike fanaticism His teaching was. Some have even credited Judas with having their wild hopes, and, eager to force his Master into the violent career he desired Him to take, betrayed Him, as the only means that seemed likely to secure his end.

The relation of our Lord to the Pharisees is one full of interest. The Messianic hopes they cherished and inculcated made them feel an interest in one who claimed to be the Messiah. The fact that in many, nay most, points where they differed from the Sadducees He was on their side, though He had not sprung from their schools, must have tended to attract them almost as much as His denunciation of the false Pharisees tended to drive them away. His great influence with the multitudes had a double effect on them. His influence on the people might be regarded as antagonistic to theirs, and that might well move them to oppose Him; but, again, the great resemblance there was between their doctrinal position and His would be prone to make them imagine that it might be easy to win over the Galilean peasant Rabbi to them, and make Him their tool in strengthening their power over the masses. These two tendencies are observable in almost every chapter of the gospel history. The one tendency leads them to lie in wait for His words, in order that they may twist them to His disadvantage,

especially with the multitude, or failing that, with the Sanhedrin. The other leads them to invite Him to their houses, and entertain Him at feasts. Every now and then His wonderful sayings attracted them by their breadth and beauty, and anon the way He brushed aside the web of finical refinements they had wrapped round the law—refinements that had come down to them from the fathers—roused their bitterest wrath. They were always hoping that He would become the Messiah they expected, and lead the people victoriously against the Romans; and always were their hopes disappointed. It may be that Lange is right, that even in the taunt to our Lord while hanging on the cross, "If He will come down from the cross, then will we believe in Him," there was latent half-despairing hope that He would put forth His miraculous power, and, saving Himself from the death of shame, be the Messiah promised to the fathers. The general thesis, that the opposition of the Pharisees to Jesus was rather scholastic than political, more like that within their own schools, is maintained by Cohen with great plausibility. One thing is obvious, it was the Sadducees, not the Pharisees, who delivered Him up to the Romans, and forced Pilate to condemn Him to be crucified. The Sadducees had no Messianic hopes, and were sure that the troubles that must follow a rising against the Romans would be neither small nor few. The Sadducean hate was founded on self-interest, and therefore deadly and implacable. However plausible the view advocated by Cohen, the statements of the Gospels certainly represent the Pharisaic hate of our Lord to be far deeper and more

venomous than he would admit. If we admit that the Talmud represents Pharisaic thought and feeling at the time of our Lord,—which to a certain extent is doubtful,—we find there how little of that respect for Jesus attributed to them, these later Pharisees possessed. We need not refer in proof of this general assertion to the later book the *Toldoth Jeshu*,—the ordinary names by which He is referred to are enough. It may well have been that the milder school of the Pharisees, the followers of Hillel,—if there was a Hillel, and he had a school,—were averse to go the length the Sadducees and the more extreme Pharisees wished to go; and that may explain the reason of the falling back of the Pharisees at the time of our Lord's final trial and the prominence of the Sadducees. The fact that Christ's claims to Messiahship tended to excite a conflict with Rome, was reason enough for the Sadducees to wish Him put down. His unsparing unmasking of their hypocrisy earned the hatred of the Pharisees; a hatred, though not so envenomed as that of the Sadducees, that might still be deep — all the deeper for the many points of resemblance between His doctrines and theirs.

If we now proceed to consider the doctrines of the Pharisees, we find ourselves in the first place obliged to decide the relation in which scribes and Pharisees stood to each other. The last occasion in which the scribes appear in the history of the New Testament is at Paul's trial before the Sanhedrin, when (Acts xxiii. 9), on Paul's declaring himself "a Pharisee, a son of a Pharisee," "the scribes that were of Pharisees' part arose, and strove," etc. This statement would

seem naturally to imply two things—first, that all the scribes were not Pharisees; and further, though not so necessarily, that all the Pharisees were not scribes. The fact really seems to be that "scribe" was merely the name of an employment; and of the members of this profession some were Pharisees and some Sadducees, though it might well be that most of the scribes adhered to the Pharisaic party. When the priests had become followers of Greek learning, and adepts at foreign politics, the scribes who studied the law for its own sake came into greater prominence. When the transference of the high priesthood from the direct line to that of the Hasmonæans lowered the sanctity of the office, although it gave it outward splendour, the influence of the scribes tended to increase. Hence they became most important functionaries in the State, and practically all the members of the Sanhedrin were scribes. The other passages where there seems to be a distinction made between scribes and Pharisees, really asserts that all the Pharisees were not scribes.

The Pharisaic form of doctrine was essentially founded on "scribism." They were all full of reverence for the Law down to the smallest and most unimportant peculiarities even of the writing. The Law as they had received it from the fathers had to be made commensurate with the needs of a much later time. Their ingenuity was shown in deducing from the arrangement of the words in some passage in the Law an authoritative decision in regard to some new matter that in fact was unforeseen by the original writer. Doctrinally, also, the people had advanced,

and these doctrines generally held by the people had to be defended by passages in the Law, and again their ingenuity was shown.

The doctrines that, according to the New Testament, most distinguished the Pharisees, were the immortality of the soul, the resurrection of the body, and the existence of angels. Josephus adds a doctrine of "fate" or providence. In all these points it is obvious enough that the Pharisees held the same doctrines that were afterwards held in the Christian Church.

The direction their ingenuity took of finding profound meanings in odd shapes of letters, and of drawing deductions from the numerical value of the letters that go to form a given sentence, was widely different from the spirit of the Apocalyptists. Even when they indulged in imaginative Hagada, and took good-bye of history in the most summary fashion, they did not pry into the future. They had Messianic hopes, but did not dare, as did the Apocalyptist, to portray the coming of the Messiah.

CHAPTER V.

THE ESSENES.

WHO were the Essenes? whence did they spring? What were their relations to Judaism on the one hand, and to Christianity on the other? These are questions that meet us when we enter upon the study of Essenism. How difficult this investigation, how doubtful its results, may be understood when we mention that Hilgenfeld says, *Jüdische Apocalyptik*, p. 245: "Essaism is the most enigmatical phenomenon of later Judaism;" and Lucius (*der Essenismus*, p. 63) makes a remark precisely similar. The very name is subject of dispute. Sometimes we find them called *Ἐσσαῖοι*, sometimes *Ἐσσῆνοι*; and if Epiphanius is included among our authorities, we have several further variants. The etymology of the name is to the last degree enigmatical. There are some Greek etymologies suggested; all of these, however, may be neglected, save that which seems to have been favoured by Philo. Both in *Quod Omnis Probus Liber* and in the fragment of the *Apology* he refers to the resemblance between the name Essene and the word *ὅσιοι*; but it may be doubted whether he seriously meant to assert that there was any etymological connection between them. It is need-

less to say that whatever was Philo's real opinion, the derivation is impossible.

The probability is, that the name "Essene" is derived from some Hebrew or Aramaic word. It is, however, a very difficult process to argue back from Greek to Hebrew. As may be seen from the form Hebrew names assume in the Septuagint and Josephus, Hebrew letters have no fixed equivalents in Greek. The result of this is, that the etymologies proposed are practically numberless.[1] The number of these proposed derivations may, however, be somewhat lessened if one assumes that in transferring the name from Hebrew to Greek, Philo and Josephus used the most ordinary equivalents. This at once disposes of the impossible suggestion that the name is derived from יִשַׁי, Jesse. While none of the four gutturals are impossible as the first letter of the original Hebrew word, we may rule out, as at least improbable, all those that are represented in several different ways. Since Philo, Josephus, and Epiphanius give different Greek versions of the name,—indeed, the last named gives us two forms of it,—the probability is, if the guttural in question was liable to be represented in two different ways in Greek, both ways would have come down to us. If we are correct in this, all those derivations which assume that ע is the first letter must be dismissed, as that guttural was fully as frequently represented by *Γ* as by a simple vowel, *e.g.* *Γοθολία*, עֲתַלְיָה, for Athaliah; and *Γόμορρα*, עֲמֹרָה, for Gomorrah. Further, although חֲנוֹךְ becomes *Ἐνώχ*, yet חֶבְרוֹן becomes *Χεβρών*;

[1] Any reader desirous of information on this matter should consult Bishop Lightfoot's dissertation appended to his *Commentary on Colossians*.

hence, though with scarcely so near an approach to certainty, we can put aside those derivations which have ח as their first letter. In this case the etymology suggested by Bishop Lightfoot—namely, that Essene is derived from חָשָׁא, "to be silent"—must be regarded as improbable, on the grounds suggested above. It is further improbable from the fact that, though the Essenes had a silent period of probation, it was not a characteristic that would strike the public in regard to them. Josephus tells us of many appearances of individual Essenes, and it is usually as proclaiming the future, not maintaining an obstinate silence. The first letter, then, was probably either א or ה. The case of *Ἰεζάβελ* (Jezebel) from אִיזֶבֶל, compared with *Ἰεσσαῖος* of Epiphanius, would be in point here; but evidently we have not the original name, as the meaning shows; however, we have אִיּוֹב, *Ἰώβ*. This would indicate that א is the initial letter. As to the second radical of the five sibilants, we may be sure it cannot have been ז, as that is invariably represented by *Z*.

This excludes, among others, the suggestion of Ewald, that Essene is derived from חָזָק, to be strong; thus אֲחַזְיָהוּ becomes *Ὀχοζίας*, and קְנַז, *Κενέζ*. Either of the other letters may be represented by *σ*. Thus אָסָא becomes *Ἀσά*, and בַּעְשָׁא, *Βαασά*; אֲבִישַׁי, *Ἀβεσσά*; אַבְשָׁלֹם, *Ἀβεσσάλομ*; אֲמַצְיָהוּ, *Ἀμεσσίας*. It seems probable that the *ν* is merely a modification necessary to the Hellenisation of the word; but the long vowel which is present in all the forms the name takes which terminate in *νοι*, taken along with the fact that in the diphthongs *αιοι* occurs in the other forms, makes it probable that the third radical was י. If we combine all these together,

of the many etymologies suggested, the most likely appears to be that of Gfrörer, Baur, and Dähne, אָסְיָא, *asi'*, "healers." The meaning would suit, as their magical incantations and invocations of the names of the angels were used to heal the sick. Further, Josephus expressly mentions that the Essenes paid special attention to the healing qualities of herbs and minerals. The only difficulty is the reduplication of the σ, and this might suggest some such form as אָשְׁיָא, *ashi'*, "foundation," were the meaning more suitable. Bishop Lightfoot, moreover, records the form ἐσηνός as occurring in Hippolytus.

A number of the derivations suggested imply that the sibilant is the first radical, as Frankel's, that the name is derived from צָנַע, *tzanūa'*, "retired." This suggestion proceeds on the supposition that the Greeks had an objection to begin a word with a sibilant, and therefore inserted a vowel before it; a supposition that is contradicted by the regularity with which names beginning with ע have Σ as their first letter when transferred to Greek: as, צְפַנְיָה, Σοφονίας (*Zephaniah*); סְבָא, Σαβά (*Seba*); שְׁמוּאֵל, Σαμουήλ (*Samuel*). Among the Rabbinists there was a tendency to soften an initial consonant by prefixing an Aleph; but there does not seem to have been any such tendency among the Hellenists. Those etymologies, also, that transpose the letters are to be put aside, *e.g.* that of Grätz, סָחָא, "to bathe." To some extent this search for the etymology of the name may be regarded as lost time. As among ourselves with the names we give to our sects, there may be little descriptive or explanatory in the name. Nothing of the views of the Friends could

be deduced, either from their nickname "Quakers," or from the name they assume to themselves, "Friends." The same might be said of the "Methodists."

We must endeavour to find what information we can get concerning their habits. At first sight we seem to be especially fortunate, as we have no less than three contemporary authorities who are, to all appearance, independent of each other: Philo Judæus, Josephus, and Pliny the elder. Let us examine these in chronological order.

The earliest witness for the existence of the Essenes is Philo Judæus. In his treatise, *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, "That every virtuous man is free," he gives an account of them; and further, there is a fragment of an "Apology for the Jews," supposed to be part of a work, *De Nobilitate*, quoted in Eusebius, *Preparatio Evangelica*, in which he gives a further account of them. Over and above these, which are accounts of the Essenes by name, there is a treatise ascribed to Philo, in which an account is given of the *Therapeutæ*, a sect resembling the Essenes in many features. This last treatise "on the contemplative life" may be put aside, first, because it does not profess to describe the Essenes, with whom we have to do; and second, because its authenticity is exceedingly doubtful. Some critics have doubted the authenticity of the *Quod Omnis Probus Liber*, as Frankel, but on reasons that seem insufficient. We assume always that when a work has come down to us ascribed to a given author, this ascription is true unless there is clear evidence to the contrary. People do not take the trouble to lie unless for good reason. If, then, Frankel's objections are met, we are at liberty

to assume the book in question to be the genuine work of Philo. Frankel objects to the respect with which the writer speaks of great philosophers as unlike Philo. This argument is a strange one when we know the high respect in which Philo regarded Plato. Further, he quotes Pythagoras, Panætius, Critolaus, and other Greek philosophers in other works. Next, Frankel objects to the lax position the writer assumes in regard to heathenism. But in other works Philo repeatedly refers to heathen myths. For the difference of his attitude to heathenism from that of Isaiah on the one hand and the Christian apologists, one has only to read his treatise on the Ten Commandments. He assumes a certain lower truth in heathenism; and even where he declares it wrong, he does not pour upon it the scorn which saints and prophets do. Again, Frankel objects that the writer stands outside Judaism. But so Philo sometimes appears to do in his other works. As for the difference of literary style, that may easily be explained, if this work was written in Philo's youth. This work, then, not improbably was written at some date B.C. There seems no reasonable ground for doubting the authenticity of *De Nobilitate*, from which the fragment in Eusebius is supposed to be taken. Though we have put aside *De Vita Contemplativa* as beside our purpose, and, moreover, under suspicion in regard to its authenticity, we may mention that Edersheim makes out a strong case for it in his article "Philo" in Smith and Wace's *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.

The account of the Essenes in *Quod Omnis Probus Liber* is somewhat rhetorical, and intended to prove the existence of philosophers of a high order of merit in

Philo's own nation. He declares that the Essenes dwell in villages, avoiding the towns; that they avoid trade and everything connected with covetousness; they shun, further, everything connected with war. They are students more of moral science than of logic or metaphysics, save so far as the latter relates to God and the universe. In regard to property he says: "There is no one who has a house so absolutely his own private property that it does not in some sense also belong to every one." They dwell together in companies, and eat at a common table. "Whatever they receive as their wages they do not retain as their own, but bring it into the common stock." He further states that even tyrants could bring nothing against them,—the obvious reference is to Antiochus Epiphanes,—and the implication is that they escaped the tortures so liberally inflicted on others by the tyrant. It has been objected that this description occupies a disproportionate space in the treatise; but a good deal can be allowed to a Jew anxious to glorify his faith before the Gentiles, who were politically his masters.

The next passage is considerably shorter. It is preserved to us by Eusebius as we have said, and differs from it somewhat in details. "They dwell," he says, "in many cities of Judæa, and in many villages, and in great and populous communities." A statement which, it will be observed, contradicts his previous assertion that the Essenes "avoid towns." He gives the further feature that "there are neither children nor youths among the Essenes." This leads to the assertion that the Essenes eschewed marriage;

for this he assigns reasons eminently disrespectful to the female sex: "Woman is a selfish creature, addicted to inordinate jealousy — always studying deceitful speeches; if she has children she becomes full of pride. A man thus becomes enslaved from being free." Yet a sentence slips in which seems to contradict his previous statements. "Old men, *even if they happen to be childless,* are accustomed to end their lives in a carefully attended old age." In the account of the settlements of the Therapeutæ in *De Vita Contemplativa*, given that that is genuine, there are women present along with the men, and these join in chorus at their feasts. One feature of the Essenes which Philo here mentions must be referred to. He says: "Before the sun rises they betake themselves to their daily work, and do not quit it until some time after it has set." This statement has important bearings on the allegation that they were worshippers of the sun; as, if they worshipped the sun, they certainly would not have delayed their acts of worship till the sun had set, nor have begun before he rose. Such, then, is the account of the Essenes given by Philo.

In Josephus we have many more details given, but details that do not always harmonise with the features supplied by Philo. Of course there elapsed between the one and the other a period of something like forty years; but the differences are not precisely such as are explicable by the supposition of change through course of time. Josephus gives us several accounts of the habits and customs of the Essenes. In fact, the Essenes and their habits are a subject of continual

recurrence with him. He gives an account of them both in his *Wars of the Jews* and his *Antiquities.* The former of these is considerably the fuller. He says, book ii. 8. 2: "They have an aversion to pleasure as to vice. They have no great reverence for marriage; but other people's children they take under their care when they are young, and tend them and train them up. Yet they are not against marriage; but being aware of the frailty and intemperateness of the sex, they shun association with women. They contemn riches, and have all things in common. They will not suffer oil on their bodies; they have no *certain place of abode;* they disperse themselves up and down; they have not one city, but many dwell in every city. (*Μία δὲ οὐκ ἐστιν αὐτῶν πολις ἀλλ' ἐν ἑκάστη κατοικοῦσι πολλοί.*) Before the sun rises they speak nothing profane; they use certain traditional forms of prayer entreating the sun to shine on them.[1] After having wrought hard and studied till the fifth hour, they then wash "themselves for purification." They now retire each to his cell, and after a little they meet in the refectory, where the baker and the cook bring each man his plate. "The priest then blesses the food." They are opposed to all forms of oath, regarding an oath as worse than perjury. They have "a great reverence for the writings of antiquity," especially what concerns the soul. One is passed "through a probation should he wish to enter their society." When received, he is provided with a pickaxe, a girdle, and a white robe. "They bind themselves by an oath of obedience, and of abstinence from

[1] Here we cannot but note the contradiction that is implied to what above we saw stated by Philo.

all forms of vice." They use the pickaxe as the paddle was directed to be used in Deut. xxiii. 13. They believe the soul to be "incorruptible," but "shut up in the flesh as a prison." They believe in a place of bliss for the righteous beyond the ocean; for the wicked there is "a place of tempests and everlasting pains." They foretell things to come, as those from their youth acquainted with the sacred books and the prophets. There were certain Essenes who did not oppose wedlock, and looked upon those who did as wishing the extinction of the race. They, however, proceeded with caution, and admitted a woman only after a three years' probation. In the *Antiquities*, bk. xiii. 5. 9, it is said: "The Essenes hold that all things are in the power of fate; nor can anything happen to man except it is decreed by fate." Again, bk. xv. 10: "The Essenes are a class of men who follow a mode of life very like that of the Pythagoreans." Bk. xviii. 1, he says of the Essenes: "Their opinion prefers to regard all things as left with God. They regard the soul to be immortal, and that people ought to follow justice. They send gifts to the temple without going thither, as they have sacred observances of their own. They are the most excellent of men, and addict themselves to husbandry. They have their goods in common; they have neither wives nor servants." Over and above these passages there are several in which Essenes are referred to in passing, from which deductions may be made as to their habits and customs, somewhat at variance with what we have just seen Josephus narrates at length. In the *Wars*, bk. i. 3. 5, telling of the murderous jealousies which disfigured the history of the family

of John Hyrcanus, he mentions that, when Antigonus, the younger brother of Aristobulus, was crossing the court of the temple, Judas, an Essene, was present, and seeing him, Judas exclaimed to his followers that he was proved a false prophet, as he had predicted that in that day Antigonus would die at Strato's Tower (the name of the city afterwards called Cæsarea), and here Antigonus was well, and six hundred stadia from Cæsarea. While he was yet lamenting to his disciples, the tidings were brought that the youth had been assassinated by his brother's orders in a passage under a tower that formed part of the fortifications of Jerusalem, which also bore the name of Strato's Tower. The story is also told in nearly identical terms in the *Antiquities*, bk. xiii. 11. 2. Whereas Josephus tells us elsewhere that the Essenes avoided the temple, here we find a leading Essene in the temple, surrounded by disciples who listen to his teaching. There is another story told of a certain Menahem, who, seeing Herod the son of Antipater playing, prophesied that he would be king. While he thus prophesied he said he had a conviction that he, Herod, would, though prosperous, be far from just, and that his end would be miserable. After the prediction was fulfilled Herod sought him out, and asked him if he would reign ten years. He told him that he would reign more than thirty. Menahem afterwards was specially favoured by Herod; indeed he seems to have been in the Sanhedrin, though this is more doubtful. In the *Wars*, Josephus further gives an account of the interpretation which Simon, an Essene, gave to the dream of Glaphyra, the wife

of Archelaus, the son of Herod — an interpretation which had a speedy fulfilment. These would indicate that, at that time, the Essenes did not, of necessity, shun the purlieus of the court, for Antipater was even in Herod's boyhood the intimate of John Hyrcanus. Such are the majority of the references made by Josephus to the Essenes.

The remaining contemporary witness is Pliny the elder. The fifth book of his *Natural History* is taken up with the description of various places in the western parts of Asia, and among the rest he takes notice of Palestine; in the course of it he is led to speak of the Dead Sea, and to describe the Essenes who stay near it. The passage is as follows (bk. v. 17): "On the west the Essenes avoid the shores so far as these are hurtful. These are a solitary race, marvellous above all others in the whole world. They avoid marriage, and have no women among them; they have no money; they are a race associate of the palms (*socia palmarum*). Every day they are joined by those whom, wearied with life, the waves of fortune drive to their customs. Thus through thousands of ages (*per seculorum millia*) this race in which no one is born endures eternal. So beneficial to them is the disgust of life (*vitæ pœnitentia*) of others. Below them was Engaddi, with its groves of palms second to Jerusalem in fertility —now another tomb." It will be observed that in this rhetorical account the only reliable element is that they were solitaries who stayed by the side of the Dead Sea. That they had lasted thousands of ages, is, of course, nonsense; though their antiquity must have been more than respectable, or such a statement could

not have been made. The fact is, Pliny is not likely to be a first-hand observer. Alexander Polyhistor is suggested as his informant; but it is not unlikely that Josephus might in conversation inform him about the peculiarities of this sect which he admired so much.

Epiphanius is the last witness we would call in, but do so, fully recognising of how little worth his evidence is. He lived some two centuries and a half after the latest notice we have of the Essenes as an actually existing sect. He is further credulous and inaccurate in the highest degree. He declares the Essenes to be a sect of Samaritans, a statement to which Abbé Migne adds the note, "Quod in mentem Epiphanio venerit ut Essenes Samaritanis accenseret divinare non possum." He, however, gives no description of their doctrines or practices under that head, but associates them a little later with the *Gortheni*, another Samaritan sect. As a nineteenth heresy he reckons as a Jewish sect *Ὀσσηνοί* or *Ὀσσαῖοι*. These, from the places of abode assigned to them, seem to be our Essenes. In discussing the Nazarenes, Epiphanius refers to certain who were called *Ἰεσσαῖοι*: following Bishop Lightfoot we think it probable that he really designates the Essenes by this name. He makes an assertion which, if it had any basis of proof,—and it surely must, or he would not have made it,—would be important. After saying that all Christians were called Nazarenes, he adds, "It happened that for a little time they were called *Ἰεσσαῖοι*." This implies a wholesale passage of the Essenes over to Christianity, such, as will be seen below, we contend for.

We have taken no notice of Talmudic sources of

information in regard to the Essenes, because we think them valueless. First, because of the lateness of the date of the Talmud. The Rabbinic decisions that form the Mishna were not gathered together till late in the second century by Rabbi Jehudah the Holy, if even then. Next, because, as Lucius [1] (*Essenismus*) says, "the interest of the Rabbins lay in quite a different region from the historic." Facts were of little moment to them, hence they take comparatively little note of anything outside their own circle, and consequently what information they give is usually inaccurate. It has been found impossible to identify any of the classes of persons mentioned in the Talmud with the Essenes. If, however, the Essenes dissappeared in the Christian Church after the fall of Jerusalem, then it is probable that the מִנִּים, נָצְרִי, etc., usually identified with the Christians, may be really the Essenes.

Such is the evidence we have of the customs of the Essenes. When we gather into one picture all the features presented to us, it does seem strange and enigmatical—a Jewish sect, and highly esteemed for sanctity, yet departing from the Jewish ideal in a great many different directions. The Jew looked forward to a family, yet they are declared to be celibates. Of course the universality of this assertion is met by other statements, such as that some of them permitted marriage. While the Jews reverenced the temple, they avoided it; though again the case of Judas necessitates a certain amount of modification. The Jewish religion consisted in certain sacrifices where blood was shed; but they, it is alleged, offered only

[1] P. 34. See Wellhausen, *Pharisaer*, to the same effect, p. 124.

meat-offerings of flour, etc.; though the frequenting of the temple on the part of men like Judas may even make this doubtful. The Jew reverenced the sacred books of the Law, and the Essene had sacred books of his own to which he showed reverence. The Jew bowed in reverence to God toward the temple; the Essene at the Dead Sea turned his back on the temple, and in his prayers bowed towards the rising sun.

It seems almost impossible to combine into one consistent whole all the contradictory features attributed to Essenism. We confess to having been so much impressed with this impossibility, that we doubted the very existence of the Essenes altogether. Yielding without examination to such arguments as those of Frankel, the writings of Philo, which treat of the Essenes, we dismissed as unauthentic, and Pliny was regarded as borrowing from Josephus, who thus became the one sole witness. His character does not stand so high that his evidence can be looked upon as unimpeachable if any advantage were to accrue to him from making one statement rather than another. A more careful study of Josephus compelled us to recognise that his method of treating of the Essenes does not look like the work of one drawing on his imagination for his facts. In the first place, one does not know what advantage it was to him to maintain that these existed. Then the references to the Essenes are so frequent and so incidental. The incidents into which he introduces Essenes are not those that are fitted to bring out the peculiar tenets he ascribes to them; an inventor would have been careful on this point. Further, from his Life we learn that Justus,

another Jewish historian, impeached the accuracy of his accounts of various matters, yet did not assail that about the Essenes. Investigation of *Quod Omnis Probus Liber* led to accepting it as Philonian. Hence in the mouth of two witnesses everything was confirmed.

While the fact of their existence seems indubitable, it seems still difficult to realise of what sort really the association was which they formed. Some of the representations we have suit a conventual society; they have common meals, common labour, and a common purse; they do not associate with any one outside their society; they have nothing to do with the sacrifice of the temple, never go there, but have their own sacrificial meals; they shun everything connected with arms or war; they are absolutely celibate. On the other hand, they are scattered over the country. One says they avoid the large towns and stay in the villages; another says they frequent the cities. We have seen several of the many contradictions presented to us in the various accounts of the Essenes. We might multiply these to a considerable extent, till it would seem impossible to affirm anything of them without being liable to be met by a counter statement based on as good authority.

It seems to us a concrete example may show how this may be explained. Were a historian of the Victorian era to give an account of the religious denominations of England, as an episode in his narrative he might, after describing the constitution of the Church of England and of the Nonconformist bodies, proceed to deal with the Methodists. As it is the

largest body of Methodists, he would naturally describe the Wesleyan Church. Among other features he would mention that they were Arminian in doctrine, had no fixed pastors, and did not permit women to preach. Incidentally in his narrative he might refer to the Calvinistic Methodists, to fixed pastors in the Methodist New Connection, and to female preachers among the Primitive Methodists.

There was something of this kind among the Essenes, as Josephus intimates when he tells of four sorts of Essenes, and mentions that certain of them did not abjure wedlock. Some have asserted that these were of the outer circle that had proceeded up the successive steps to perfection; but Josephus, our supposed authority for the four stages, has no word of this. He distinctly asserts that they are opposed to those who are celibate, "regarding them enemies of the race." In fact, Josephus does not, when he speaks of the four classes, imply that they are superimposed; they may as well be quite separate. They differ in the nature of the vows they have taken. Dr. Ginsburg mentions eight classes of Essenes which he regards as occupying successive stages in the progress toward perfection. These, however, may not be so distinguished, but rather as the different forms of Methodism are distinguished from each other. His view is founded on an identification of the Essenes with certain persons referred to in the Talmud; but this view is baseless. The fact that there was a denominational distinction in one direction in Essenism renders it probable that the other "sorts" were distinguished in the same way. There is nothing in Josephus against

this, and the fact that there was the one separation of this kind renders it probable.

As to the internal condition of the society, there seems to have been the most absolute brotherhood among the members. They had their meals in common, presided over by the head of the society. We do not know whether the various "houses" of the society in the different cities were related to the central dwelling at Engedi. We do not know whether the head of the Engedi community was head of all the Essenian communities throughout Palestine. We have no information to guide us as to the mode they followed in electing a head for the whole society, nor whether he, once elected, selected the heads of the various subordinate communities, or whether each of them chose for itself. The probability is that the synagogue was the model followed with the common dwelling-place and common meal subjoined. There seems little doubt, from the statements of Philo and Josephus, that the "houses" of the Essenes were scattered all over the country; so, in all likelihood, every town of importance in Palestine had its "house of the Essenes," as well as its synagogue.

CHAPTER VI.

THE ESSENES: THEIR RELATION TO THE APOCALYPTIC BOOKS.

WE have seen that the Essenes had certain sacred books which they reverenced. Josephus refers to these in a way that indicates that he does not mean the canonical Scriptures. These books are concerning the soul and concerning angels. Starting with this scant amount of information concerning the books themselves, we can, with the help of what we know of the sect to which they belonged, make some deductions as to the probable character of these books.

In the first place, there would of necessity be a strong family resemblance between the different books. They were the products of one school, and as that school kept itself very much apart, each successive book would depend on those which had preceded it. We further learn that the sect were accounted inspired prophets, who could foretell events and interpret dreams. We should then expect the books to be books of prophecy. We should find in them a history of what was coming on the earth. But as they were essentially pious, God-fearing people, the progress of the Divine kingdom would be the thing uppermost in their minds. Woes would be denounced on sinners unflinchingly. As they, or at least most of them,

if not absolutely abjuring wedlock, yet regarded it as an inferior condition to that of being free from the ties of marriage, we should expect to find many indications that the married state was inferior to that of celibacy.

Have any books come down to us that suit this, and are the products of Palestinian religious life? None of the books of the extant Apocrypha, with the sole exception of Fourth Esdras, whose place within this secondary canon is very questionable, at all fit the requirements. The Books of Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus assume the existence of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes, but nothing more. They have no prophetic elements in them, and there is nothing of the angels. Ecclesiasticus, at all events, could not be written by a recluse. The Prophecy of Baruch is an evident imitation of the old prophets, but stands in no relation to anything that would suggest it as the work of one of a school. This equally applies to the stories of Judith, Tobit, and Susanna, and to the historical books of the Maccabees. The Sibylline books would to some extent suit, but they are of Egyptian, not Palestinian origin.

There is, however, a series of books which do suit the requirements in every particular, and are of Palestinian origin: we mean the Apocalyptic books. When we study them, we feel that we have to do with successive works of one school of thought. In ordinary cases it is enough to prove that books belong to the same school, to show that thought and expression are identical. In the present instance we have not only this, but each book implies a dependence on those that have preceded it in time. They all assume as their starting-point the canonical Book of Daniel; it is the

model according to which all the later Apocalypses are constructed. It is the ideas to be found in Daniel that are developed or added to by those that followed after. The first of these is the Book, or rather the Books of Enoch. We shall show in the sequel how part after part of this composite book was framed and added to the rest, each building on what he had received from his predecessors. This process went on through probably nearly a century and a half. This process of growth implies the work of members of one school, imbued with the same set of ideas, and working in circumstances closely similar. Throughout there is perpetual falling back upon the ideas and expressions to be found in Daniel.

If we are right in our conjecture, the Apocalypse of Baruch was composed shortly after, if not even before, the last addition was made to the Book of Enoch. Daniel is evidently well known to the writer, and also the Book of Enoch. There are the same fundamental conceptions and repeated implied references to matters to be found more at length in the Book of Enoch. At first sight the Psalter of Solomon differs from the other books, but it implies the strong Messianic hope which is so marked a characteristic of the other works. From the fact that the writer has made the Book of Psalms his model, the Psalter of Solomon may be regarded as an aberrant member of the group. Some fifty years later the Assumption of Moses was written, and it takes for granted that the readers of it know the Books of Enoch. Almost simultaneously the Book of Jubilees was written, which indeed seems to be the other side of the same movement. It assumes the Book of Enoch

in its references to the tablets of the heavens. After the crucifixion and resurrection of our Lord, and the consequent founding of Christianity, Apocalypse still continued. Besides the inspired Apocalypse of St. John, we have the Ascension of Isaiah, which depends on the Assumption of Moses, and, above all, on the Books of Enoch. The so-called Fourth Book of Esdras, the Second Book of Esdras of our Apocrypha, is closely related to the Apocalypse of Baruch, and to the Books of Enoch and Daniel. And the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs assume pretty much all that has gone before. It is undeniable that this is the production of a school, and, with the exception of the last work, the production of a Palestinian school. The history and scenery implied all prove this.

Further, these books are esoteric books. While the books of the New Testament and the works of the Christian Fathers show evident traces of their influence, none of the later Apocryphal books, as the Books of the Maccabees, the Wisdom of Solomon, Baruch, or Judith, show any traces of the writers being influenced by the Apocalypses. The same may be said of Philo and of Josephus.

On the one side we have a Palestinian school, of which we know this, that it produced certain books which were strictly esoteric—a school that, if Bishop Lightfoot[1] is to be believed, invaded Christianity, and with the fall of Jerusalem became practically incorporated with Christianity. On the other, we have a series of works, the productions of one school, which largely affected the literature of early Christendom.

[1] "Dissertation on the Essenes," *Commentary on the Colossians.*

When one walks along the side of a rocky fissure, and sees protuberant angles of rock on the one side, always opposed by re-entrant angles on the other, he at once comes to the conclusion that these two were once united, and formed one surface. By parity of reasoning we feel we should not be going too far did we assume that the school whose works were awanting, and the works produced by a school that was awanting, fitted into each other, that without further arguments we might assume the school of the Essenes to have produced the Apocalyptic books.

When we look back at the features which we deduced from the school would be present in its books, we find each one of these present in the Apocalyptic books. They depend closely the one on the other. They are all more or less prophetic. They all pronounce for a high morality, and denounce sin and sinners. It may be said that there is nothing of the shunning of marriage in the Apocalyptic books. That is true ; but they one and all date the fall of the angels from their unlawful commerce with the daughters of men. They have that relation to sexual sin which is so often seen in monastic orders—they loathe it, yet it possesses their imagination. Hence it is that the sin of the angels is perpetually coming to the front in the Apocalyptic books. We are told by Josephus that they shun everything connected with arms or war. One of the disastrous effects of this commerce of heaven and earth is, that the angels show how weapons may be forged. Taking all these things into consideration, it seems impossible to deny that the Essenes were the writers of the Apocalyptic books.

Strong as this evidence is, we can make it yet stronger. We have seen that these Apocalyptic books are the work of one school. The Samaritans could not have produced them, because the Samaritans did not believe in archangels; whereas one of the characteristics of these books is an elaborate angelic hierarchy. Had they a Samaritan source, some of the names under which the prophecies were published would certainly have belonged to the northern tribes. Of all that have come down to us none are attributed to men of the northern kingdom, whereas three belong to the southern kingdom—Isaiah, Baruch, and Ezra. There was an Apocalypse of Elijah, which, however, has disappeared; but he is such a marked figure in the history of Israel that that is scarcely an exception. Moreover, the books refer to Jerusalem and its history. The school cannot be that of the Sadducees, for we know they believed neither in angel nor spirit. The most noticeable feature in these books is their elaborate angelology, and the full account they give of the spirit world. The Sadducees had, as we have seen, no great favour for the Messianic hopes of the people. The Messianic element is markedly present in these books. In some respects the Pharisaic school would suit; their opinions are in harmony in the main with the Apocalyptists. When we turn to the Mishna, in which we have the work of the Pharisaic school, of a later age, certainly, still undeniably Pharisaic, and claiming to be the continuance in unbroken descent of the old Pharisaic School, we find no resemblance whatever to the Apocalyptic books in method and little in contents. The Talmud is a series of decisions on questions of law

and casuistry. Even the Hagadoth and Midrashim, preserved mostly in the much later Gemara, are more extravagant than the visions of the Apocalyptists. What is more striking, the Talmudists manifest practically no knowledge of these books. It clearly, then, cannot be the Pharisaic school to which we owe the Apocalypses. It has been suggested that while the ordinary Pharisaic schools could not compose these books, the Zealots might. They had the high Messianic hopes which are so prominent in the Apocalyptists, and therefore are so far suitable. But there is an atmosphere of calm and contemplation that pervades these books that is totally unsuited to these furious fanatics. The only school that remains is that of the Essenes. Thus, from the method of exclusion, we have arrived at the same conclusion as that we arrived at by direct comparison of the school and the books.

Zeller objects[1] that there is no trace in the doctrines of the Essenes of the Messianic hope which is so prominent in the Apocalyptic books. That they shared in the Messianic hopes of the nation follows from the fact that they addicted themselves to the study of prophecy. The evidence on which Zeller rests his negative conclusion is the silence of Josephus and Philo on the question. We know how cautious Josephus is in regard to Messianic prophecy from the way he treats the prophecy of the image in Daniel; he says (*Antiq.* x. 10. 4), "It is my business to write of things that are past, not of things to come." Even the favour of Titus would not have delivered him if he

[1] *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2. 271.

had been found cherishing hopes of the overthrow of the Roman empire by a Jewish Messiah. In all his writings he had to remember the sensibilities and suspicions of his Roman masters. He had pretended to find in Vespasian the promised Messiah; the Essenes had suffered the severest persecutions rather than submit to Vespasian. To have mentioned their Messianic hopes would have made the Romans suspicious as to the honesty of his interpretations of Messianic prophecy. Philo had no Messianic hopes, and had therefore no sympathy with those who had. It would have marred his panegyric of the Essenes to have mentioned that they entertained hopes so visionary and so unphilosophic.

It is not wonderful that many different origins should be suggested for these Essenes. The whole subject is complicated by the fact that both Josephus and Philo were under strong temptations to Hellenize their accounts of the Essenes. They both addressed a Hellenic audience, and so it behoved them to arrange their statements to suit Hellenic understandings. As the guests at the banquet provided by Philo and Josephus were Greeks and Romans, the dishes had to be seasoned to suit their palates.

With the additional sources of information supplied us by the Apocalyptic books, we can enter the question of the origin of the Essenes with greater hope of being able to reach some solution.

We have seen how different their ideal of life was from that of the rest of the Jews. At first sight it seems impossible to deduce these peculiarities from Judaism. These unwonted features suggest that they have sprung from a non-Jewish source. On the other

hand, we have the exaggerated respect they attached to certain portions of Judaism, and the high veneration with which they were regarded by the people, to lead us to the opinion that their views were—however discordant they may seem to us—not really out of harmony with Judaism as popularly apprehended. This twofold aspect of Essenism would be intelligible if we regard Judaism itself modified by foreign elements, and look upon the Essenes as simply drawing upon these more than the other sections of the community.

The first idea that strikes one is that the foreign element is Hellenic. The picture of the Essenes has come down to us painted in Grecian colours by men almost as much Greeks as Jews. This Grecian colouring has induced Zeller in his history of Greek philosophy[1] to maintain that the Essenes were followers of the Neo-Pythagoreans. In this he may be regarded as following a hint given by Josephus (*Antiq.* xv. 10. 4), where he says that the Essenes follow a mode of life similar to the Pythagoreans. In defence of his view Zeller draws out a formidable list of resemblances. Both were ascetics; both avoided animal food, and denied the validity of sacrifices which involved shedding of blood; both formed themselves into communities, entrance into which was only got after a lengthened probation. In both forms of community there was subordination of ranks and community of goods. To complete the external picture, both preferred white linen clothing to any other, and are addicted to frequent washings, but avoid the more

[1] *Philosophie der Griechen*, iii. 2. 278–292.

luxurious warm baths with its consequent anointings. He sees resemblances of a more essential kind in the doctrines both profess. Both are essentially dualistic in regard to the relation of spirit and matter,—to the soul the body is a prison with both, and with both God affects the material world by means of lower spirits, called angels in the one case and demons in the other. Both were addicted to magic. Both clothed their doctrines in symbolic language, and defended their views by forging works alleged to be old. These latter features suggest that Zeller was unconsciously influenced by Hilgenfeld's view, and imported into his idea of the Essenes elements from the Apocalyptic books. The Pythagoreans and the Essenes held similar views as to the state after death. This latter alleged resemblance is not borne out by his references. Josephus tells us that according to the Essenes the wicked, though they escaped during life, would, in the future life, "suffer eternal punishment" (*ἀθάνατον τιμωρίαν*).[1]

Formidable as these resemblances appear at first sight, close inspection shows them all to be more or less superficial. Some resemblances alleged we have not mentioned, as we doubt their validity, as the worship of the sun, which may be doubted in regard to both. Zeller has, which is more important, failed to get over the very striking points of difference between the two. The first objection that suggests itself is that neither in Josephus or Philo, nor in the Apocalyptic books, is there any sign that the Essenes reverenced numbers in the way the Pythagoreans did. The way

[1] *Bell. Jud.* ii. 8. 11.

Zeller would evade this difficulty is by saying that the dependence of Essenism on Pythagoreanism did not imply that the former adopted all the doctrines of the latter. This doctrine of number, however, was the very essence of Pythagoreanism. Further, the transmigration of souls, which was an essential doctrine of the Pythagoreans, is directly opposed to the view ascribed by Josephus to the Essenes in regard to the future state, as we saw above. This is all the more to be noted that Josephus was not averse to attribute something like this to the Pharisees.

Although from the Hellenization that went on, as we saw above, during the rule of the Lagid princes, it is not *à priori* improbable that Greek philosophic notions did take root even among the Palestinian Jews, yet there is no proof that at that time Pythagoreanism was at all prominent; in fact our evidence goes to show that at that time it was extinct. If we are correct in the opinion at which we have arrived as to the date of the earliest portion of the Book of Enoch, then the Essenes must have been formed into a community about the end of the period of the Lagid supremacy in Palestine. Chronology is thus decidedly adverse to Zeller's view, that the peculiarities of Essenism are due to the influence of Neo-Pythagoreanism. The rise of Neo-Pythagoreanism proper is probably post-Christian. Apollonius of Tyana is a mythic personage, and Moderatus of Gades nearly unknown. It may be doubted whether it really came into existence until the age of the Antonines. By this time the Essenes had disappeared in Christianity. Bishop Lightfoot shows, further, that there are geographical difficulties

in the way of the Jews being early influenced by Pythagorean speculation.

Some have seen traces of the origin of Essenism in Buddhism; but here again Bishop Lightfoot is convincing. The assertion that large numbers from Alasanda the capital of Javana were present at a Buddhist festival, in the second century B.C., is not necessarily true at all, as the whole record is exaggerated to a high degree; and if true, applied not to Alexandria in Egypt, but to that in Bactria, for between Bactria and India there was then a very close connection. Clement of Alexandria is the earliest writer that mentions Buddha. The general state of knowledge concerning Buddhism was so vague and incorrect in the pre-Christian centuries, that it is impossible the Essenes could be much influenced by it. If they had been, knowledge concerning Buddhism would have been much more diffused. Parsee elements are also recognised by some; but these, notwithstanding the weight Bishop Lightfoot attaches to them, are not quite convincing. One might argue that by having their morning prayers over before sunrise, and delaying their evening prayers until after sunset, the Essenes wished to turn aside any possible accusation of Parseeism. The fact that Judaism as a whole seems to have been so much modified by Parseeism, certainly gives a plausibility to the contention. We know that the Rabbis said "the people brought back the names of the angels from Babylon." Dr. Kohut ("*Asmodai*") has wrought out the parallelism to the full; but gives greater evidence of his own ingenuity than of the correctness of his theory. He takes each of the

Amhaspands and compares him with one after another of the higher angels, and makes out an identity in function. This, however, is difficult to see, as the functions attributed are on both sides somewhat vague. He endeavours in one case to make out an identity even in name; but for our part we prefer to derive מטטרון, *Metatron*, from *μετά θρόνον* rather than from *Mithras*. Bishop Lightfoot does not seem to mean any such wholesale adoption of Parseeism as is implied in the theory of Dr. Kohut. Against any direct influence of Parseeism on the Essenes, is the fact that we have no evidence from any source which would tend to ascribe to them the belief in two nearly equal principles of good and evil, *Ahuramazda* and *Angromainyus*, opposed to each other. This, one would have thought, would have manifested itself in Essenism if it had come from Persia. On the contrary, in the Apocalyptic books the evil principle is always inferior to such an extent as to shade off into the Gnostic Demiurge. Another essential doctrine of the Parsees is the worship of fire, and of this there is no sign among the Essenes.

Even if we grant this theory has something in its favour, still if the elements may be found in Judaism itself, there does not seem any necessity for asserting that Essenism was a special product of Parseeism in conjunction with Judaism.

In the first place, when we begin to look into the question of the nature and origin of this sect, we must remember that it is not Judaism of the time of the prophets we have to deal with, but Judaism

that has been in Babylon, and has still a large section of its nationality there. It had been two centuries under Persian rule; and this rule was, if indirect in the Holy Land, pretty direct over that larger section of the nation which remained in Babylon. But this part of the nation had continual intercourse with their brethren in Judea. They had had, moreover, alike in Babylon and in Judea, by the time the earliest notice of the Essenes occurs in literature, experience of nearly a century of Hellenic supremacy. It is probable, as we have seen, that they existed at a date much earlier than the earliest notice Josephus gives of them would imply. In this way, while we may doubt any direct influence of Zoroastrianism or Pythagoreanism on the Essenes as a separate sect, yet these influences were in the air, and there may easily have been an assimilation by the Essenes of these elements to a greater degree than by the other section of the Jewish people. The common mass of the nation had assimilated certain foreign elements, and from this again the Essenes drew the special elements which made them what they were.

Further, it must be noted that in perusing the descriptions we have from the pens of Josephus and of Philo, we must avoid laying weight on the reasons they assign for this or that feature of Essenism. The reasons adduced are due to the desire of these authors to make their nation stand well with the Greek foreigners, and hence are such as might have moved a Greek, and are not necessarily those that did influence the Essenes. This especially applies to the reasons assigned for their general avoidance of marriage, and also to the reason

put in the mouth of those who did not shun matrimony. Sometimes reasons are not so much stated as implied, not put in the form of doctrines held by the Essenes, but placed in connection with certain observances of theirs, so that one is led to deduce the doctrines for himself. Thus we would not be inclined to put much weight on the assertion of Josephus, that the Essenes regarded the body as a prison. It is not impossible that Hellenic dualism had somewhat affected them; but that it should have taken such a definite shape is improbable.

If we look at the matter historically we shall find reasons to make the evolution of Essenism from Judaism less surprising to us.

If the foreign alliances entered into by the Maccabeans were against the views of the Essenes, as they probably were, still more must the assumption of the regal dignity have been offensive to them. Their Messianic hopes pointed to another kingship than that of Alexander Januæus. They would regard his wearing the crown as a distinct usurpation of the rights of the coming son of David. This view of the wrongfulness of his regal title might extend to his assumption of the priesthood also. The story Josephus tells of Eleazar the Pharisee declaring that John Hyrcanus had no right to be priest because of the alleged captivity of his mother, might easily be extended to his son. Further, we know that by his mode of offering sacrifice Alexander roused the wrath of the Pharisaic party, indeed of the pious generally, and this was the beginning of the persecution. Before that time we find Judas the Essene in the temple surrounded by his disciples; whereas we find Josephus

saying the Essenes avoid the temple. One can readily understand if the sacrifices were not properly offered, and if the priest was not a lawful priest, that they would cease to take part in the temple worship. They had, however, priests of their own, whose sole function seemed to be to lead their prayers and to prepare their food. The prolonged residence of the Jewish nation in Babylon had led them to have a lower estimate of the efficacy of bloody sacrifices, and, as we have seen, a higher faith in the efficacy of prayer.

It seems not impossible that their worship toward the rising sun, if they did so worship, which, however, Philo's description seems to contradict, was at once a protest against the state of matters in Jerusalem and an assertion of their hope of the coming of the Messiah, "the Sun of righteousness, who was to arise with healing under His wings."

At first sight their extreme ascetic position strikes one as utterly unlike Judaism; yet the high esteem extended to the Nazarite shows that in Judaism there was a place for asceticism in regard to food and clothing. Celibacy was certainly not Jewish; but the command which enjoined abstinence from marital pleasure on the people of Israel, when God was about to reveal Himself to them on Sinai, Ex. xix. 15, implies greater sanctity in the celibate state. The same idea is suggested by 1 Sam. xxi. 5. From this it is an easy step to come to the conclusion that celibacy is the higher and purer condition. The conventual cenobitic life had been inaugurated by the schools of the prophets, and a proof of the connection may be

seen in the fact that women were admitted to one of the Essenian orders as wives of the members. Thus all the essential elements of Essenism were really present in Judaism, or were the natural results of pure Judaism in the presence of impurity of worship.

CHAPTER VII.

THE ESSENES: THEIR RELATION TO OUR LORD.

WE approach this part of our subject with much diffidence. Many of those to whom Christ is a mere man have endeavoured to minimise His supreme originality; and, to prove Him merely a Jewish teacher, have declared Him to be an Essene. We, for our part, hold His Divinity most firmly, but do not see that these opponents of the truth have made good their point by this assertion. No one can deny that there is a verisimilitude in the statement that He was an Essene. For our part we think that He was so in a certain limited sense. We have seen that there were four different sorts of Essenes according to Josephus, and that these came under different obligations. We further find from Josephus, at least by implication, that all religious people regarded themselves as adherents of one or other of these sects.[1] The household at Nazareth must have belonged to some one of these—to which was it? We hold it was to the sect of the Essenes.

Our first argument for this is the negative one, that the Essenes are not once mentioned in the Gospels. Our Lord, who seems to have met every other class of

[1] Dr. Ginsburg would go further, and assert that every Jew was *obliged* to belong to one or other of the sects.

the community,—the priests, the Zealots, the Pharisees, the Sadducees, the Herodians, the Greeks, the Romans, the publicans, the harlots, the Samaritans, the Syro-phœnicians,—yet never once meets with an Essene. It is not enough to say that the Essenes were a solitary, retiring race, haunting the shores of the Dead Sea, for they were much in Jerusalem and other cities, not to speak of villages, and had houses of call all over the country. In fact, one of the gates of Jerusalem was called the gate of the Essenes. Nor can it be urged with any degree of force that they were few in number. Josephus and Philo tell us that they numbered above four thousand;[1] and we know that the sect of the Pharisees numbered only six thousand. Of course it may be objected that the Pharisees had a large popular following, and that the followers were at times confounded with the Pharisees proper. But, on the other hand, there is evidence that the Essenes had a like numerous following; indeed, the story Josephus tells of the Essene Judas seems to imply this. Further, that they had a large circle of those who wished them well, is proved by the fact which Josephus mentions that they were recruited by adopting the children of others. Parents would necessarily know and respect the Essenes before they handed their children to them. How then does it come that our Lord never came in contact with the Essenes?

The reverence we have for the memory of Bishop Lightfoot makes us sorry that he should have treated

[1] Philo, indeed, in the fragment of his Apology for the Jewish people, speaks of the Essenes being tens of thousands (μυρίους); that, however, may be rhetoric.

this argument so cavalierly as he does. He answers it by demanding why there is no mention of the Essenes in the Talmud. He knew that the Mishna, the oldest part of the Talmud, was not compiled till a full century after Essenism had disappeared, as he himself shows (*Com. on Coll. Diss.* p. 499), mainly in Christianity. The silence of the Talmud in regard to the Essenes as distinct from Christians really is an indirect proof of the truth of our allegation. Among ourselves when a sect changes its name we are apt in speaking of the past to carry the present name back into the past. To speak of the Socinian congregations in and around London as Presbyterian is thus highly confusing. The Essenes had merged in the Christian by the time the Talmud was written, much as the old Presbyterians have merged in the Socinians. Another thing, Bishop Lightfoot knew the notorious inaccuracy of the Talmud: neither its silence nor its speech has any evidential value.

If our Lord, without being an Essene in the strictest sense of the term, found many of His followers in that outer circle of semi-Essenes which we have mentioned, this silence is explicable. Have we any evidence that he did so?

While they are not mentioned by name, is there not a class of persons referred to that may be the Essenes, but under another name? We have already adverted to the fact that the name Essene was probably a name by which they were called by outsiders, not one they had called themselves; probably, therefore, not the one by which the members of the Essene sects spoke of each other. Thus the sect

called among us Plymouthists do not speak of each other among themselves as Plymouthists, they are "Brethren." Is there, then, any set of persons referred to in the Gospels that may be the Essenes, though under another designation? When Joseph and Mary bring the infant Saviour into the temple, Simeon, a prophet, under the Spirit of God comes into the Temple also, and takes the Holy Infant into his arms and sings his "Nunc Dimittis." We are told of him that he is one that "waited for the consolation of Israel." Anna the prophetess follows, joins in the praise, and speaks of this wonderful Child that has been born to those that "waited for the redemption of Israel." Her action implies a sect that took that title to themselves. All the Jews, with perhaps the exception of the Sadducees, professed to be looking for the redemption of Israel. But she went only to certain persons who are described as those that "waited for the redemption of Israel." At the very end of our Lord's career Joseph of Arimathea, who begged His body from Pilate, was one that "waited for the kingdom of God." If Joseph and Mary belonged to this sect, the action of Simeon has a double significance. His attention is drawn to those who were offering the purification sacrifices. Not improbably their dress informed him that they were "waiters for the consolation." Anna also would be drawn to the same spot by the same reason. Here then we find a sect which welcomed our Lord's coming, which He never meets again, never has to rebuke, and which never endeavours to entangle Him in His talk. All seems to point in one direction, that

the Essenes were those who waited for the consolation of Israel. But is there any evidence that they did this? On the supposition that from the Essene communities issued the Apocalyptic books, there is.

It is almost needless to show that these works are as a class permeated with the Messianic hopes of the nation. This characteristic is most manifested by the Book of Enoch, the most important part of the collection. The contents of these books may then be used as subsidiary proof of the connection of our Lord with the Essenes. This, however, we need not dwell on at present. We may mention one thing, the last of these Apocalyptic books are unmistakably of Christian origin, and the transition from the one class to the other is not observable in style or method, simply in contents. By the events of the first "Good Friday" and the first "Easter Sunday" the school had become Christian. So close is the connection between the Christian and the pre-Christian Apocalypses, that most of the pre-Christian Apocalypses have been by some critic or other declared to be the work of Christians. And all the post-Christian ones have had pre-Christian dates assigned them by some critic. This intimate relationship is only possible on the supposition that during the course of the composition of these works the school in which they originated had become Christian as a body. This again implies a very close connection between Christ and His disciples and this school. The change on no other supposition would have taken place precisely in the period between the deposition of Archelaus and the Neronian persecution—the period of the founding of Christianity.

Our last argument was a deduction of the close

relationship between Essenism and Christianity from the phenomena presented by Essenism. We saw the presence of those we identify with the Essenes at the beginning and end of His earthly career. The peculiarities manifested by the Essenian books bore out, we saw, our conclusion. But the connection may be further shown by the phenomena we see in the history of the early Christian Church. In this part of our argument we shall freely avail ourselves of the material collected by Bishop Lightfoot in his dissertation on the Colossian heresy (*Com. on Col.* pp. 73–113), and the conclusions he draws from it, all the more freely, indeed, that he is strongly opposed to our main contention. We accept in the main the conclusion he comes to as to the character of the Colossian heresy, that it was Essenian, and that the Gnostic elements in it really came from the Essenes. We further agree with him that Gnosticism generally may be said to have sprung from Essenism. We cannot pass over his identification of those "strolling exorcists," with whom Paul came in contact in Ephesus, with the Essenes; nor can we omit noting how this contradicts his argument, that our Lord never met the Essenes, because of "their small numbers and retired habits." He recognises in the fact that these exorcists used the name of Christ, an evidence of "overtures of alliance on the part of Essenism." Let us now make some deduction from his conclusions. Within thirty years from the foundation of Christianity the Churches of the Lycus are infected with Essenism to such an extent that they seem ready to fall away wholly from the simplicity of the original faith. Surely the leaders of the Church in

Colosse must have recognised a strong affinity between themselves and these teachers, or they would not have allowed them to get a position of such predominance. This affinity can scarcely be said to have been resemblance of doctrine in the face of Paul's denunciations. The affinity, then, must have been some historic connection such as we contend for. Assuming the correctness of his conclusion,—and we see no reason to doubt it,—that Gnosticism sprang in the main from Essenism, then the widespread prevalence of Gnosticism in the beginning of the second century only strengthens our argument. We for our part would go much further, and recognise in the whole Judaising party Essenes. The head of that party was James, the Lord's brother; and the account we have of him from Hegesippus[1] has, as admitted by Bishop Lightfoot, many Essenian features. He puts aside the evidence of Hegesippus, because he wrote about a century after the event, was of the Judaic party, and borrowed his account from an early heretical work, the "Ascents of James." These assertions—which we grant to be true—tell in precisely the opposite way from that in which Bishop Lightfoot

[1] The account Hegesippus gives of James is as follows (Euseb. ii. 23): "He was holy from his mother's womb; he drank neither wine nor strong drink, nor ate animal food, nor did razor ever pass upon his head. He never used the sumptuous bath (*βαλανείῳ*). He never wore woollen, but only linen. On account of his exceeding righteousness he was called 'the just,' and 'Oblias,' which is in Hebrew, 'rampart of the people and righteousness.'" The bath here does not refer to the Jewish and Essene washings for purification; these were called *βαπτισμοί*, Heb. ix. 10; *βαπτίσματα*, Epiph. i. 255 (Abbé Migne). In regard to the word 'Oblias' there is great difference of opinion. Renan (*Saint Paul*, 80; *L'Antechrist*, 68) suggests the Hebrew to have been חֹבְלֵי עַם. Several other suggestions might be mentioned; but there is no certainty as to what was the Hebrew or Aramaic in the mind of Hegesippus.

believes them to do. We have here a Judaic Christian resident in Judea in the beginning of the latter half of the second century describing the first president of the Church in Jerusalem, James, the Lord's brother, as an Essene. We find, further, that he drew his account from an earlier document of the same school. The probability seems to be great that his account of James is correct. If so, then we have the brother of our Lord an Essene. This would not only prove the close personal connection of our Lord with the Essenes, but also, as James was, as we have said, the head of the Judaisers, the size and importance of the Essene elements in the early Church. Despite what Bishop Lightfoot says, nothing in the Acts or the Epistles really contradicts this. It is from his personal habits as described to us by Hegesippus that we deduce his Essenism, and there is not a word either in the Acts or Epistles—his own or those of Paul—that bear upon this. We hold he was a true Christian, but "zealous for the law" after the manner of the sect of the Essenes. The points where he is supposed to differ from the Essenes are simply those where one Essene school differs from another. Further, Bishop Lightfoot holds that after the destruction of Jerusalem the Essenes bodily became Christians. If so, there must have been some historic affinity to overcome the points of difference between the Essene teaching and that of Christianity.

The truth seems to have been that, recognising the points of resemblance between themselves and the early Christians,—their common meals, and their desire to have all things in common,—the Essenes pressed into the Church. The same thing that led to their desire

to enter the Church in great numbers, made the apostles prone to receive them without careful enough scrutiny. Hence the presence in the Church of that large Judaising section who so keenly opposed Paul. Perhaps the fact that Paul was a Pharisee had something to do with this opposition. If we are correct that our Lord belonged to the order of Essenes in whatever way, then the passage from Essenism to Christianity would be all the more easy, and the dividing line which separated the one from the other less visible.

Another singular phenomenon of early Christianity is the rise of Monasticism. Monasticism certainly is foreign to Pauline Christianity, and foreign also to the Christianity of Christ. How did it spring up? The legendary history of St. Anthony, falsely attributed to Athanasius, even if it contained any grains of truth, which is sufficiently doubtful, explains nothing. St. Anthony is represented as being the founder of the monastic system; but at the same time early solitaries instruct him. The movement had its origin in Syria and Egypt—precisely the quarter where the Essenes and the Therapeutæ flourished. Monasticism is really Essenism baptized unto Christ. The presence and persistence of an Essenian element in the Christian Church implies a certain external connection at the beginning of the Church's history.

Another argument suggests itself. Our Lord is always addressed as Rabbi or Master, not only by His own disciples, but also by those without. Were this done by the multitude, it would mean very little. Were a quack to be addressed as "doctor" by any one of the people he was treating, or even by one of the general

public, it would mean no more than the fact that courtesy makes persons fonder of avoiding giving offence than of being punctiliously accurate as to matters of title or graduation. If, however, a deputation of the College of Physicians and Surgeons sent to question him addressed him as "doctor," then we should be compelled to recognise him, whatever his conduct, as, at all events, a duly qualified medical practitioner; indeed more, as a Doctor of Medicine, having the diploma of some acknowledged university. Now the Pharisees come to Him to question Him about the tribute-money, and they commence by addressing Him as "Master." Immediately thereafter the Sadducees wish to baffle Him with their difficulties in regard to the matrimonial position in the resurrection of the woman who had been seven times a widow; and they, too, address Him as "Master." Individual scribes so address Him, and the young ruler of the synagogue does so. If, however, we are to receive the accounts in the Mishna, even to become a scholar to the Rabbins required a special ordination,[1] much more was this required to be a teacher or a Rabbi. From neither the Pharisees nor the Sadducees could He have received that title. The only other sect that remains is the Essenes.

Our conclusion is not upset by the transaction in the synagogue at Nazareth. Their objection to Him is not His want of Rabbinic ordination, but that He took up a position in relation to tradition totally unlike the

[1] Schürer, Div. II. vol. ii. 22, note (Eng. transl., Clark). Hausrath, *New Testament Times*, i. 91 (Eng. transl., Williams & Norgate). The proof here is certainly Talmudic, but in this matter of the internal constitution of their schools the evidence of the Rabbins is good.

other Rabbins, "He taught as with authority, and not as the scribes." This divinity He claimed they would not admit, because all his relatives were perfectly well known. If it had been His want of Rabbinic ordination that was objected to, He would not have been permitted to teach in the synagogue at all. We hold that John the Baptist was also a Rabbi, as he is called, by the same Essenian ordination.

We have thus endeavoured to prove that our Lord was in some sense a member of the sect of the Essenes. We have seen that the fact that our Lord now encounters or rebukes the Essenes implies some relationship to them. That the appearance at the presentation in the temple and at the tomb of those connected with the sect implies a connection with Christ that is borne out by the Essene Apocalyptic books. The presence in the Church very early of a strong Essenian element proves a historical connection with its founder. Further, the ascription of the title Rabbi to our Lord implies that He had received Rabbinic ordination from the members of one of the recognised sects, and the Essene sect is the only one from which He can have received it.

When, however, we say that our Lord was an Essene, we do not assert that He was so in the same sense as St. Paul was a Pharisee. We do not mean that He was bound down by the maxims, or formed wholly by its teachings. He was Divine, and therefore stood in a perfectly free relation to the school and its tenets. In order to enter into brotherhood with men, He condescended to be born. In order that He might unveil most fully and perfectly that brotherhood, He chose that race that had been educated by centuries of Divine

training. Born a Jew, He declared it His purpose to fulfil all righteousness. The high priests of His day were men far from being worthy of their high office, yet He honours the priesthood, and sends the cleansed leper to show himself to the priest. Although He had no need of the baptism of repentance, yet He was baptized of John; although as a son there was no claim on Him to pay the half-shekel for the sanctuary, yet He paid it. All that we hold is, that as the ordinary way of becoming a teacher, which to fulfil His office He had to be, was to belong to one of the received sects, He chose that to which He was most akin. Of the four sorts of Essenes we may be sure that He belonged to that which was likest to Him and trammelled Him least. Still, there must have been a Divine freedom in His connection with the order as well as the sect. He broke away from them in many points; yet from their respect for Himself, and from the relative freedom of the sect, there does not seem to have been ever serious collision between Him and the Essene sect. We have sometimes thought that the attempt His brethren made to stop His teaching, "saying, He is beside Himself," was really the action of the Essenes. With that doubtful exception they left Him to teach and to preach as His own Divine nature dictated to Him. Thus He attended weddings though some of the Essenes abjured wedlock, and allowed His feet to be anointed with ointment, although many of the members of His sect abhorred it as pollution. In this sense only do we hold Christ to have been an Essene. He was divinely original, but chose as the starting-point of His self-manifestation one of the orders of the Essene sect.

We have not taken any notice of De Quincey's theory, that the Essenes were merely the early Christians disguised as members of a secret society. This view does not need serious refutation to any one who knows anything of the literature of the subject. His idea, that Christianity would fall in ruins if the morality of the Essenes was proved to precede that of Christ, is a hallucination founded on a misconception of the essence of Christianity, and of the nature of the morality of the Essenes. The originality of our Lord lay not so much in His precepts as in the impulse He gave men to strive to fulfil them, and in the vital power He imparted to enable them, in some measure, to accomplish what they strove after. The essence of Christianity is to be found, not in the Sermon on the Mount, but in the resurrection from the dead. The former is the solvent of Judaism; the latter, the foundation of a new life. It was as witnesses for the latter, not the former, that the martyrs died. We need not do more than refer to his misconception of the views of the Essenes. The morality of the inner sects of the Essenes was far from being that of Christ. It was the morality of monasticism; and naturally resulted in such combinations of dirt and divinity as St. Simon Stylites, not in a healthy Christian life.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE LITERATURE OF THE PERIOD—THE APOCRYPHA.

IN His parable of the sower our Lord shows how important is the question of soil in regard to the hopes of a harvest. It is no denial of the vitality of the seed, that it needs a suitable soil before it can spring up and bring forth fruit, in some thirty, in some sixty, in some an hundred fold. There is no implied assertion that the soil can of itself produce the harvest without the seed. Our Lord's parable really shows that it is alike needful that there be a soil suitable—that it be prepared; and further, that into that soil a living seed be cast. It seems to us that too little attention has been directed to the nature and composition of this spiritual soil in which Christianity was sown.

The external history of the period immediately preceding the times of our Lord has been more thoroughly investigated than have the traces of its religious thought. It is certainly important to know the history, for otherwise the setting of events is in darkness. But after that is known, the reader may be said to have got rather the equivalent to the meteorological tables,—the record of the storms and frosts that have passed over the soil, than the constitution of the soil itself. This table is good, but not all. To get a knowledge of the soil, it is further necessary to examine,

so far as they have come down to us, its products—the religious works that have been produced outside the pale of inspiration. While to us the Apocalyptic works seem by far the most important, to estimate them aright we need to have a certain acquaintance with other adjacent literature. We know more of the climate and soil that suits a plant when we know the other plants that flourish in its neighbourhood.

In commencing our general survey we naturally meet first with the collection of works, which, to distinguish them from other works nearly similar that have not been admitted into it, may be called the Canonical Apocrypha. We mean those works that are commonly known by the name "the Apocrypha," and were till the beginning of this century usually bound up with the Old and New Testaments, but separated from them by a different title-page. This separation from the books of the Old and New Testaments, yet inclusion in the sacred volume, was due to the specially halting form in which the Reformation was carried out in England. These books were recognised not to be the Bible in any authoritative sense; yet as many worthy people had been accustomed to them, they were included in the sacred volume, though excluded from both Testaments. In the Septuagint, the arrangement of the books became latterly pretty nearly fixed according to a combined logical and chronological system, and this order pre-Tridentine editions of the Vulgate follow. With the Council of Trent the books, while still generally admitted into the canon, were treated in a different way. The Tridentine Fathers so far yielded to the Protestant position that the Third

and Fourth Books of Esdras—the first and second of our English Apocrypha—and the Prayer of Manasses were relegated to the end of the New Testament.

The history of the formation of this supplemental canon is exceedingly obscure. The majority of the writings have been admitted into their present position by the influence of the Jewish community of Alexandria. Some, however, noticeably the Fourth Book of Esdras, were not in the original Septuagint canon. Indeed, speaking of the Fourth Book of Esdras, we may note that it has not come down to us in either sacred language, though all the versions show signs of having been evidently translated at all events from a Greek original. We have only very few fragments of this Greek original preserved. We shall, however, reserve consideration of this book till we take up the apocalyptic class to which it certainly belongs.

While the question of the origin of the collection as a collection is beside our purpose, a more detailed survey of the individual books may not be without profit to us. Formerly it was deemed enough to decide that a book was apocryphal to excuse its complete neglect. It is, however, becoming every day more and more distinctly recognised that these apocryphal and pseudepigraphic books may be replete with interest and information for us. They may not, and do not, give us any sure information concerning the time they assume as that of their origin, but incidentally they do give us a great deal concerning that from which they have actually sprung. We shall consider them in the order in which they occur in our English Apocrypha.

The Apocrypha begins with the two books of Esdras,

which are both excluded, as we have already said, from the Tridentine canon. First Esdras, or, to give it the name by which it is best known among Continental critics, Third Esdras, is really a compilation of scraps from Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah, with a Midrash about Zerubbabel thrown in. There are traces in the Midrash of two recensions. Three youths declaim each before King Darius on what they consider the strongest in the world: the first says wine; the second, the king; the third, Zerubabbel first declares woman to be the strongest, and then awkwardly adds that truth is strongest of all. The date of the compilation is uncertain, save that it must be before the days of Josephus. He quotes at length the story of Zerubbabel, and follows the apocryphal in preference to the canonical Ezra. The compilation must also have been made somewhat late in the Grecian period, when such chronological blunders were possible as that Darius, under whom Zerubbabel lived, should be asserted to have succeeded Artaxerxes—the grandfather succeeding the grandson. There is no trace of the apostles having any knowledge of this book. Second Esdras being an Apocalypse, we shall retain it, as we have said, for future consideration.

The Book of Tobit, it is needless to say, has no historical basis. It seems to have been written while the Persian empire was still standing; the temple at Jerusalem had by this time been built, and hopes were entertained of a widespread conversion to Judaism. Had the Greek power been already in the predominant, there would have been some signs in Tobit's prophecy, which we find in the last two chapters, that the powers

under which Nineveh was to fall were not to be permanent. As even during the reign of the Lagid princes the Jews were compelled to recognise the inferior position they held in relation to their masters in a way that they never had to do under the Persian rule, the note of exultation with which the book closes may be held as confirming this view of its date. It has been argued by Bertholdt that the mention of Rages, which he asserts was founded by Seleucus Nicanor, proves Tobit to have been written in the age of the Seleucids; but "Rages" was really much older, and Seleucus merely rebuilt it.[1]

Of course nothing is known of the authorship of the book. Literary fame was not so much valued during the fifth century B.C. as it is in the nineteenth A.D. The fact that the first two chapters and a few verses of the third chapter are written in the first person, while in the rest of the book the third person is used, may seem to point to a double authorship. The language in which Tobit was originally written is, if we have to look merely at the text before us, somewhat difficult to decide. If we are right in following Ewald's date, 350 B.C., Greek the language certainly would not be; the question is really between Hebrew and Aramaic. The free use of the article may be regarded as an evidence in favour of the former being the original tongue. The present Hebrew and Aramaic versions are translations from the Greek. Notwithstanding the authority of Ewald, it would

[1] Arrian (*Anab.* iii. 20) mentions *Rhages*, and evidently regards it as having been of some importance in the days of his hero, for he names it as the termination of an eleven days' march, and reckons its distance from the Caspian Gate.

seem not to have had its place of origin in the far East, but in Palestine. The writer is greatly occupied with the duty of worshipping regularly at the temple in Jerusalem, a thing a Jew in Palestine would be much more likely to emphasise than one resident on the banks of the Euphrates.

The moral standpoint of Tobit corresponds generally with that of the Jews in the days of our Lord. We find almsgiving exalted as practically the sum of righteousness (iv. 16), "Because that alms do deliver from death and will not suffer to enter into darkness." The belief in demoniac possession is also to be noted. In the Old Testament the nearest approach to demoniac possession was the case of Saul, of whom it was said that an evil spirit from the Lord troubled him. But there are marked points of difference between the case of Saul and the cases of the possessed healed by our Lord. In the case of Sara the daughter of Raguel, the possession is similar in nature to those we find in the New Testament. The childish mode of exorcism does not destroy the validity of the parallel.

The angelology of the Book of Tobit requires to be noticed, as the introduction of Raphael prepares us for the more elaborate angelology of the Book of Enoch and of the apocalyptist generally. Raphael declares himself to be (xii. 15) "one of the seven holy angels which present the prayers of the saints," and which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One. It is impossible to deny the influence of Persian religious conception in this, or to fail to recognise the resemblance these seven angels bear to the seven Amhaspands of the Zenda-Vesta. That Raphael is the angel of

"healing," is a collateral proof that the book was written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

Like Tobit, Judith is a story with a moral point; but there are many points of difference. The state of matters which occasioned the two books must for one thing have been widely different. Renan [1] declares it to have been written in the year 80 A.D., and uses his wonted skill in fitting it into the background he has chosen. Volkmar [2] (followed by a number of critics), who seems to regard the time of Barcochba, since we practically know nothing about it, as a sort of waste-basket into which everything can be thrown that is not definitely proved to belong to another age, thinks that Judith was written then. To one who does not belong to this class of critics, the age of Barcochba is simply impossible for Judith, and improbable generally for writings of any importance. Renan advances very conclusive reasons against the opinion that Barcochba had possession of Jerusalem, or that in his day Jerusalem was much more than a heap of ruins with a fort garrisoned by Roman soldiers. If the Jewish community was scattered in a number of inconsiderable towns and villages, there was little likelihood that great literary activity would spring up among them. But more, the Book of Judith is referred to by Clement; and if we take his date as approximately 95, then that definitely decides against the Barcochba date. But even if the Epistle of Clement be held to be spurious, and not to have been written till A.D. 140, still it was impossible that a book proceeding from a Jewish community at a time when the hatred between Jew and

[1] *Les Evangiles*, p. 29. [2] *Mose Prophetie.*

Christian was intense, should have been received by the Christian Church as Scripture within fifteen years of its composition. If the writer of the Epistle of Clement was a Jewish freedman, his knowledge of the book would be combined with a knowledge of its Jewish origin; he would know it then, but only to hold it in abhorrence and contempt.

In the book itself there is no trace that there was a race of heretics who had separated from the rest of Judaism, a fact of which we find abundant traces in the Talmud. The most probable date would seem to be about 100 B.C. The fact that Josephus does not quote it is no evidence against its existence before his day, nor is it even indubitable evidence that he did not know of its existence. The background of history it assumes plays such fearful pranks with actual events that no historian of Josephus' reading could for a moment regard it as worthy of credit. As none of the features of the story could have been taken without taking the background, he naturally abandons the whole. Regarded as an allegory of the position of the Jewish Church surrounded by the powers of the world, it is not without its beauty. It probably was written in Aramaic.

The additions to the Book of Esther are valueless, though they must date at least earlier than the days of Josephus. Where they were written, and in what language, seems doubtful; but the probability is that they were written in Egypt, and that the language was Greek. It must be borne in mind that the additions to Esther were not originally collected together as they are now, but were inserted at special points of

the narrative. Save that they were known to Josephus, these additions seem to have produced no effect on thought in Palestine.

After these books, which it would be a misrepresentation to call legends, come a pair of books which were united with the Hagiographa in the Septuagint. The first claims to be a writing of Solomon; the latter makes no such claim, but its author has taken the Solomonic works as his model. They are the latest memorials of the *Ḥochma*[1] literature of the Hebrew which has come down to us.

The first, the Wisdom of Solomon, does not take the proverbial form which has been associated with the name of Solomon, but is rather a treatise which at times rises to a high degree of eloquence. It contains a splendid encomium of wisdom in terms that make it an intermediary between the Almighty and His works. In this way the Wisdom of Solomon prepares the way for Philo, as he again for the Apostle John. The *Logos* of Philo is nearer personality than the "Wisdom" of the present book. One marked point of difference between the *Logos* of Philo and the "Wisdom" in the book before us is that while the *Logos* suggests the second person of the Christian Trinity, the "Wisdom" here suggests the third. Thus in Wisd. vii. 22 it is said "in her (Wisdom) is an understanding spirit;" again (ix. 17) God is entreated to send forth His Holy Spirit. Of course, this eulogium of Wisdom is sug-

[1] *Ḥochma*, חָכְמָה, is the Hebrew word for "wisdom," and the *Ḥochma* literature consists of those books that have to do with wisdom. The Hebrew term is used rather than the English, because the Hebrew had a very special connotation which the English has not. The *Ḥochma* books of the Old Testament are Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and Job.

gested by the opening chapters of Proverbs. In many of the writings of the Apostle Paul there are traces of familiarity with this book, or, at all events, with the lines of thought common in it. Thus the comparison of the potter making one vessel to honour and another to dishonour, is found in Rom. ix. 21 and Wisd. xv. 6. The use made of the comparison is very different, but still the comparison is there. Even more striking is the resemblance between Eph. vi. 13–17 and Wisd. v. 17–19. In both, the figure of armour is used to show the defence the saint has against the assaults of evil. Several other passages might be brought forward where the resemblance is more in the thoughts than the words. There is an interesting passage in this book which shows a progress of doctrine towards the Christian position. In the Book of Genesis there is no hint given that Eve was tempted by anything else than an ordinary serpent, the agency of the devil is not even suggested; but Wisd. ii. 24 says, "Through envy of the devil came death into the world."

Hitherto it has been received almost as axiomatically true that the Wisdom of Solomon was written in Greek, but Professor Margoliouth's investigation seems to prove that it was written in Hebrew. This being granted, it would follow almost necessarily that it was composed in Palestine, for Philo's limited knowledge of Hebrew proves how incapable even the most learned men of the Jewish community of Alexandria were of writing a treatise in that tongue. It would further explain the resemblance to be traced between the thoughts of Paul and those of the Book of Wisdom without there being

any corresponding similarity in language. It has been used against this book having a pre-Christian date, that Philo does not make use of it; but it might not have been translated into Greek when he wrote. Further, we must remember that Philo is occupied mainly with the Books of Moses.

It is somewhat difficult even to approximate to the probable date of this book. If we may deduce anything from the fact that there is no reference to persecution in order to compel men to become idolaters, we might judge the time to be probably far removed from the times of Epiphanes. There is also nothing which can be regarded as a reference to the fratricidal struggles which disgraced the later Hasmonæans. It may, then, have been written during the reign of Alexander Jannæus, 100 B.C. The influence of Gentile thought may be traced in the Book of Wisdom, showing that Platonism and Pythagoreanism were not so foreign to the habits of the Jewish thought as the Pharisee Rabbins would have us believe.

In the Book of Ecclesiasticus we have a book that takes us directly into the line of the old Jewish *Ḥochma* literature. The author wrote evidently with the Books of Proverbs and Ecclesiastes before his eyes. There is, however, more effort at something like arrangement and classification in Ecclesiasticus than in either of his models; at the same time, it must be recognised that this is not carried so far as in the Book of the Wisdom of Solomon. There are fewer traces in the matter of acquaintance with Greek habits of thought. Schürer (Herzog, *Real-Enc.* i. 509) says of this book, "it is the extra-canonical shadow

(*doppelgänger*) of the canonical Book of Proverbs; and, as this is the result of a practical wisdom derived from ordinary life, expressed in poetic form." The first eight or ten chapters follow in a certain rough fashion the order of the Ten Commandments; then he takes up special duties, but interspersed in each of these classes there are proverbial sayings that seem not to have much bearing on the immediate context. There is a description of wisdom which challenges comparison with that in the preceding book, but is much more prosaic and abstract, though still fine. It contains a great many valuable hints as to the ethical and theological position of the Jews at the time it was written. The importance ascribed to almsgiving, it may be noted, is greater than we find even in the Book of Tobit. In the present book, the duty of almsgiving occurs in almost every page, presented in ever-varying aspects. In iv. 5 it is said, "Reject not the supplication of the afflicted, neither turn away thy face from a poor man." At the same time, it is not indiscriminate beneficence that is recommended, but to the godly. "Do good to the godly man, and thou shalt find a recompense" (xii. 2). Again, "Give to the good, help not the sinner" (ver. 7). That this view of the importance of almsgiving was prominent in the days of our Lord is proved by the various reading since received in Matt. vi. 1, "Do not thy righteousness before men," where "almsgiving" and "righteousness" are made equivalents. How much in the altruistic developments of morality the author of Ecclesiasticus is behind the teaching of Christ may be seen in his advice (xii. 10), "never trust thine enemy." In regard

to sexual morality, there may be seen a preparation for the deeper morality of our Lord, but far from a forestalling of it. The incidence of the law is recognised fully. One of the precepts is, "Fear the Lord, honour the priest, and give him his portion as it is commanded thee. The first-fruits, the trespass-offering, the gifts of the shoulders, and the sacrifice of sanctification, and the first-fruits of the holy things" (vii. 31). Again, "My son, according to thy ability do good to thyself, and give the Lord His due offering." Self-denial is inculcated, not in the broad searching way in which Christ inculcates it, but piecemeal. "Go not after thy lusts, but refrain thyself from thine appetites. If thou givest thy soul the desires that please her, she will make thee a laughing-stock to thine enemies that malign thee" (xviii. 30, 31). Several other passages to the same purport may be found, all exhibiting a certain *bourgeois*, or, as Schürer calls it, "homespun" (*hausbacken*) morality of a purely utilitarian type—consisting mainly of rules for action, so that life on the whole may be prosperous. The only element above this is the love of wisdom, which is enjoined as of more value than all possessions. There is hardly any hint of a belief in a future life; in this the son of Sirach is much inferior to the writer of the Wisdom of Solomon. In fact, in one passage (xli. 1–4) there seems almost to be an entire exclusion of the thought of immortality. Yet in his praise of the fathers (xlviii. 11) there appears to be an assertion of the resurrection; although earlier in the book (xliv. 14, 15) immortality in the memory of friends, and of the people at large, is all that he attributes to these fathers. It might

also be said that he has lost all the national hope of the coming Messiah, save for one passage in that same hymn to the fathers in which he speaks of the coming of Elias. He acknowledges a spirit-world, though it has not the prominence which this assumes either in the Apocalyptists or in Tobit. He believes that an angel smote the host of the Assyrians (xlviii. 21); further, he believes (xxxix. 28) there are spirits created for vengeance which lay on sore strokes. As to the constitution of man, the spirit (*πνεῦμα*) is the intellectual part of his nature, nearly equivalent to (*καρδία*) "heart;" *ψυχή* is the appetitive nature: there is in this a preparation for the New Testament psychology with the tripartite nature it ascribes to man.[1]

The authorship of this book seems never to have been disputed; but nothing further is known of the author than that he is called Jesus, and is the son of Sirach. He gives us one autobiographical note in the prayer with which the book concludes. He says: "By an accusation to the king from an unrighteous tongue my soul drew nigh even unto death." Were the period of the rule of the Lagid princes over Palestine more known, we might be better able to understand Siracides. This much is certain, he must have been of some political importance in the nation to be accused to the king. This, conjoined with the weight he gives to the ceremonial offerings, might be supposed to give

[1] Dr. Plummer in his Commentary on the Epistle of James (*Expositor's Bible*,—Hodder & Stoughton), shows a number of parallels between James and Ecclesiasticus. In the light of them it is impossible to deny that the apostle was acquainted with the work of Ben Sirach, and took for granted that his fellow-believers had a like knowledge.

colour to the idea that he was a priest; an opinion that may be said to be, if only slightly, yet slightly supported by the glowing description he gives of Onias the high priest. Although Jason was the received Greek equivalent of Joshua or Jesus, we cannot, on these grounds, proceed to identify him with the Jason of 2 Macc. iv. 7, as this would bring him down too late. He must have been a man of some considerable wealth, as he seems to have possessed slaves, and, on the whole, to have been a somewhat severe master (xxx. 24–31). He seems personally to have been more enlightened than most of his day, for he despises dreams and auguries: "Dreams lift up fools: whoso regardeth dreams is like him that catcheth at a shadow and followeth after the wind; for dreams have deceived many, and they have failed that have put their trust in them" (xxxiv. 1–7).

There is some dubiety about the date intended in the prologue, but it seems most natural to hold that it was during the reign of the first Euergetes that the translator came down into Egypt. Of course this assumes that the thirty-eighth year is the year of the writer's life, not the year of the reign of the king. He came down to Egypt then somewhere between 247–222 B.C., probably 225. Ben Sirach, if we assume with De Wette fifty years as the interval between grandson and grandfather, would be thus living at the beginning of the reign of Philadelphus, a date which suits with that of Simon the son of Onias. It seems hardly likely that the inconspicuous Simon II. should be intended, and Simon the Just totally excluded from the list of great ones. The idea that as he was thus a later con-

temporary of Simon he would not raise him to the honour of being a peer with the mighty men of old, may be proved to be a mistake by what happens every day. If this view be correct, the book before us shows us the state of Palestine under the earlier Lagids. The wealth, the comfort, the possession of slaves, all suit that period better than any later period.

There is practically no divergence of opinion in regard to the language in which the original treatise was written. It is acknowledged to have been Hebrew. Recently, however, a flood of new light has been shed on this by Professor Margoliouth. He has proved that the Hebrew in which it was written was not the Hebrew of Ecclesiastes, or Nehemiah, or Ezra, but Rabbinic Hebrew. Further, he has proved that the versification is different from that of Proverbs or Ecclesiastes; it is not the usual parallelism of the old Hebrew poets, but a measured verse. In fact, if we take language and versification together, this would imply as great a change linguistically between Ezra and Ecclesiasticus as between *Piers the Ploughman* and Pope's *Essay on Man*. Professor Margoliouth compares the verse in Ecclesiasticus to an Arabic form of verse; but the influence of classic models is perhaps more to be traced in this matter than those of Arabia.

In some respects Ben Sirach resembles the Sadducean party; there is the same reverence for the merely ceremonial parts of the law, and the same doubt of a future life, the same disregard of the spiritual world, and of the Messianic hopes of Israel. If he belonged to the

priestly family, his Sadducean attitude is all the more natural. On the other hand, he does not restrict himself to the law, but evidently regards the prophets, as well as the law, as of high importance. The fact that several of his proverbs are quoted in the Talmud proves his relation to the Pharisaic school; it proves him at all events to share in the movement that ultimately resulted in the setting up of this school. It may well be that the two schools had not been formed then—certainly the schools historically known by the names Sadducee and Pharisee had not then risen.

It may well be regarded as singular that these two books we have just been considering were not included in the canon. It seems impossible to assign any other reason than that they were composed after the date when, as Josephus informs us (*Contra Apionem*), the canon was closed, that is, the time of Artaxerxes Longimanus. If it be answered that it was only the fact that Ben Sirach honestly put his name to his work, and did not assume the name of any earlier worthy, which occasioned the exclusion of Ecclesiasticus, then that only confirms the evidence of Josephus as to the existence of some such principle as that which he asserts. This objection, moreover, does not apply to the Wisdom of Solomon. Why was Daniel included and it excluded, if they were composed at nearly the same time? This, however, is a side question.

While the two books we have just been considering represent the *Hochma* literature of Judaism, the Book of Baruch is an imitation of the prophets. It certainly has little of the fire of the old prophets. Its

introduction, extending to chap. iii., purports to be a letter sent to Jerusalem from the captivity in Babylon. There are plentiful quotations from Jeremiah, Ezra, and Daniel,—in fact, it is little more than a rather tasteless cento from these books. The fact that it expressed no Messianic hope rendered it little likely to have any influence on the apostles and the writers of the New Testament. The balance of opinion seems to be in favour of the idea that the original language of this compend was Hebrew; and De Wette refers to several blunders which seem to have had their origin in Hebrew letters mistaken one for the other, as *Μερρὸν*, misreading ר instead of ד, mistaking the meaning הַחֹמָה, translating *ἡ βόμβησις* instead of *ὁ ὄχλος*. The second case is so obvious a blunder, that both in the Vulgate and the English the correction is made without note. The former case is more doubtful; it may be the writer had a remembrance of Ezek. xxvii. 10, when he speaks of the merchant of Dedan (דְּדָן), and the passage in Jer. xlix. 7, where the wisdom of Teman is spoken of. The only thing against its having been written in Hebrew is its slavish quotations from the LXX. version of Jeremiah. The blunders of the writer in chronology are very astonishing. In the first chapter, second verse, we are told that the city of Jerusalem had been taken by the Chaldæans, and burned with fire; yet in the tenth verse of the same chapter, a collection is made among the captives to be sent to Jerusalem, in order to supply the burnt-offerings for the altar. Here, it may be remarked, occurs a most amusing blunder, מִנְחָה, an oblation, is

mistaken for מן, manna. Nebuchadnezzar is supposed to have associated Balthasar (Belshazzar) with him on the throne. Bil-sar-uṣur was, as we now learn, the son of Nabunahid, and possibly the grandson of Nebuchadnezzar. If one may judge of the time of a writing by its leading motive, then the leading motive of the Book of Baruch is to call upon the Jews to submit themselves to the Babylonians. Unless it be a mere rhetorical exercise, we might imagine it written either during the reign of the Lagids, dissuading from rebellion against them, or, during the time of the Herodians, dissuading from rebellion against the Romans. The latter seems the more probable in the light of the fact that Bar. v. is a distinct imitation of the eleventh of the Psalms of Solomon. In regard to this book, we must beware of confusing it with the Apocalypses of Baruch, either earlier or later, both of which are more original productions than the present.

Appended to the Book of Baruch there is usually the Epistle of Jeremy the Prophet, as it is called, which purports to be written by the prophet to the captives in Babylon. It is a rhetorical declamation on the folly of idolatry, of no great value. It is probably of different date from the Book of Baruch, but there are really no data on which to form a conclusion. There is a palpable imitation of Jer. x. in the matter of the declamation, although the time assumed is during the captivity. De Wette holds that without doubt the original language of this Epistle was Greek, and there seems nothing against this view. Its language being Greek, its place of origin was almost certainly

Alexandria; hence it had no effect on the religious thought or language of Palestine. There seems to be a reference by name to this production in 2 Macc. ii. 1; but it is uncertain, for there is no notice in the Epistle of Jeremiah of the command to the Jews to take fire with them to Babylon.

The additions to Daniel, the mythic stories of Susanna and the Elders, and Bel and the Dragon, are unmistakably written in Greek, and proceed from one hand; but the Prayer of the Three Hebrew Children is formed on a different model. De Wette has endeavoured to prove an Aramaic original for all of these additions; but his arguments do not seem conclusive in the case of the two stories. In the case of Susanna and the Elders the play on the words *σχῖνον* and *σχίσαι*, and *πρῖνον* and *πρίσαι*, are difficult to understand save on the hypothesis that they were written in Greek. It is, however, not impossible that the Prayer may have an Aramaic original, as the writer seems to be imbued with the spirit of the Psalms. Although the myths have affected the art and literature of Christendom they have no dogmatic value, and do not seem to have been known in Palestine. The latter part of the story of Bel and the Dragon seems to be a variant of the story of Daniel and the lions' den. The introduction of Habakkuk is grotesque in the extreme.

The Prayer of Manasses seems to be a rhetorical exercise written not improbably in one of the Alexandrian schools in which Jewish edification was combined with Grecian culture. The writer has drawn largely from the penitential Psalms, but there is nothing original in the production.

The four books of the Maccabees occupy a different position from the rest of the Apocrypha. Occupying a position in that collection similar to that of Chronicles in the Jewish canon, they seem to be intended to be the authentic history of the period of which Tobit and Judith are merely legends. In the Old Testament, where we have two books bearing the same name, one called First and the other Second, we always understand that the one is the continuation of the other, as 1 and 2 Chronicles. In the Septuagint and Vulgate, in which Samuel and Kings were united in the four books of Kings, we have 1st, 2nd, 3rd, and 4th Books of Kings, each continuing the story of that which preceded it. In regard to the Maccabees this is not the case. 1 Maccabees is a complete account of the Maccabean struggle; 2 Maccabees is a fuller account of the earlier portion of this struggle, with the events that prepared for it; 3 Maccabees is an account of events before the struggle began at all; and 4 Maccabees is the account of certain resolute Jews who preferred martyrdom to abjuring their faith. These books are thus neither continuous, nor are they by the same hand, still less are they of at all equal value. The First Book is historically the most valuable. There is throughout it a constant fire and vigour, without any rhetorical flourishing of trumpets. There is an earnest zeal for the cause of the God of Israel, and a certainty that His cause is that which shall prosper. On the other hand, there is no expectation of direct Divine aid, in the shape either of suggestion or of miraculous interposition. The original language in which it was written was Hebrew; for this we have not only

the character of the Greek in which it has come down to us, but the direct evidence of Jerome. The Greek translation must have been made early, as there are traces in Josephus that he has used it. Since it was written in Hebrew, it may be taken for granted that Palestine was the place where it was composed, — which might also be gathered from such a local trait as the description given of the seven pyramids erected by Simon over his father, and mother, and his four brethren. It contains few indications of doctrine, but it may be noted that the author represents Mattathias referring to Daniel and his deliverance from the den of lions, and to the deliverance of his three companions from the fiery furnace. The date of this book can be fixed within fairly narrow limits. It must have been written after the death of John Hyrcanus and before the interference of the Romans under Pompey, probably at the very beginning of the first century before Christ.

The Second Book of the Maccabees is much more rhetorical, and has more of the marvellous in it than the First Book. Unlike the First Book, it is not an original work, but the epitome of the work of one Jason of Cyrene, of whom nothing is known. The history begins with the adventure of Heliodorus when he attempted to rob the treasures of the temple at Jerusalem, and goes on till the victory of Judas Maccabæus over Nicanor. The audience the writer contemplates seems to be the Jewish community in Alexandria, and so its evidence as to the nature of Palestinian thought is of only secondary value. The time when Jason's work was composed was probably about the same time

as that in which First Maccabees was written. When the epitomiser wrote is more difficult to determine.[1]

The Third Book of the Maccabees has no place in our English Apocrypha, nor in the Vulgate, but is found in some copies of the Septuagint. It is a highly rhetorical account of a persecution endured by the Jews of Alexandria at the hands of Ptolemy Philopator. It is introduced by an account of an attempt Ptolemy made to see the interior of the Most Holy Place, after he had defeated Antiochus the Great at Raphia. Hindered from this sacrilegious attempt, he went down to Alexandria determined to wreak vengeance on the Jews there, but was mysteriously baffled. The book is Alexandrian, and for our purpose practically valueless.

There is usually bound along with the works of Josephus a small work generally called the Fourth Book of the Maccabees. It is an enlargement of the account given in the Second Book of the Maccabees of the sufferings endured by Eleazar, and by seven sons and their mother rather than abjure their faith by eating food ceremonially unclean. It is more of a scholastic declamation than history, and does not contain much worthy of notice save the firm faith the author evinces in immortality. It is written in Greek, but the place of its composition seems doubtful. Langen holds that

[1] It is impossible to accept the view urged by M. Cohen (*Les Pharisiens*, ii. 2), that the Second Book of the Maccabees is a Pharisaic document contemporary with the events it describes, while the First Book represents the Sadducean standpoint, and later. Whatever may be the correctness of the view in regard to the dogmatic standpoint of the two books, and a good deal can be said for it, chronologically it is impossible. Jason of Cyrene could not be informed by contemporary witnesses of the progress of the struggle; while it was going on he was too far removed geographically from the scene of conflict for this to take place. Still less can his epitomiser be regarded as a contemporary.

it is of Palestinian origin, and written in the first century after Christ.

There is also what has been called the Fifth Book of the Maccabees; it, however, is merely an epitome of the First.

We have thus rapidly summarised the contents of the Apocrypha as ordinarily understood, and have seen that while there is a certain amount of value to be ascribed to them, many of these books represent, not Palestinian thought, but that of the Jews who had become colonists in Egypt, and therefore throw little light either on Christianity or on the Apocalyptic books.

CHAPTER IX.

ALEXANDRIAN THOUGHT AND LITERATURE.

THROUGHOUT the whole history of Israel the connection between Egypt and Palestine was close and intimate. The great event in Israel's early history had been the way in which they had been brought up out of Egypt with a strong hand. Solomon, we know, made affinity with Egypt, and had a continual traffic with that country for horses. From Egypt came up Jeroboam, who led the rebellion against Rehoboam; and from Egypt, too, came up Shishak, who seems to have rendered that rebellion successful. Egypt was always the reed, broken though it was, on which the politicians in Judah and Israel, who were opposed to Assyria, leant. It was Pharaoh-Necho who at the battle of Megiddo broke the strength of Judah. It was into Egypt that the fugitives of Judah fled from the wrath of Nebuchadnezzar when Gedaliah was killed. From the absolute darkness that rests on the history of Israel under the Persian rule, we cannot affirm that there was as much intercourse between Palestine and Egypt during this period as before and after it; but as we know no cause for the cessation of that intercourse, we may presume it did continue, though probably in a lessened degree, when the centre of authority was removed beyond the Euphrates.

With the advent of Alexander on the scene, the history of south-western Asia becomes once more clear and intelligible. There seems little doubt that the tradition that Alexander transferred a number of Jews to Alexandria, his newly-founded capital, is authentic. The rights the Jews claimed as equal with the other inhabitants, and the special privileges they enjoyed, seem to prove this. Ptolemy Lagi, we know, brought a multitude of Jewish captives from Judea that swelled the number of the already large Jewish population. It is little likely that Ptolemy would at once give special immunities to these captives, unless there was a considerable community already in the enjoyment of them. From the time of Ptolemy Lagi to the death of Philopator, a period of rather more than a century, Cœlo-Syria and Palestine belonged to Egypt, and the intercourse between the two countries was very considerable.

One result of this was the translation of the Law, and afterwards of the other sacred books, into Greek. There seems no real reason for doubting the ordinary tradition that this translation was made in the reign of Philadelphus. The grandson of Ben Sirach must have found the custom of translation existing before he set about translating the proverbs of his ancestor into Greek. If it were in the days of Euergetes the First that he went down to Egypt, this would prove certainly that at latest in the reign of his predecessors was the Septuagint, or at all events the Pentateuch, translated. If by Euergetes we are to understand Physcon, the change in our calculation is not very great, for the translation must at all events

have existed before the days of Philometor, to whose reign Grätz would assign it. Of course the fables of Aristeas are to be put aside. After the translation of the Law, the remaining books seem to have followed successively. By the days of Philo practically the whole of the Septuagint was translated. This may be proved by the references and quotations which he makes. The only books he does not quote are Esther and the Song of Solomon. To these may be added Ecclesiastes and Daniel, with both of which a trace may be seen of some acquaintanceship, although there is no direct quotation.

The great interest to us in regard to the Septuagint flows from the fact that our Lord's quotations from the Old Testament are invariably made from it. The correctness of this assertion may be proved by any one who takes the trouble to compare the quotations made by our Lord with the LXX. and the Hebrew respectively.

It might perhaps be answered to our conclusion, that as in translating a theological book from French or German into English, passages of Scripture are not translated, but are given, where that is at all possible, according to the Authorised Version, so it might be in regard to the quotations from the Old Testament in the New. It might be thought not an impossible thing that the evangelists, writing Greek as they did, when they had to record a passage as quoted from the Old Testament, instead of translating for themselves from the Hebrew, would transfer to their own manuscript the words as they occurred in the version presumably familiar to those for whom they were writing. If,

however, this had been the case, we should find that, except when something important depended on the actual words, all quotations would be given impartially in the words of the Septuagint. This, however, is not the case. The phenomena presented are instructive. Almost invariably in Matthew when the evangelist speaks himself he quotes from the Hebrew, and translates for himself; with as great regularity when he narrates quotations as made by our Lord the version of the Septuagint is followed. In the Gospel of John quotations in the evangelist's narrative are generally, though not as in Matthew all but invariably, from the Hebrew; but as invariably as Matthew does he represent Jesus quoting the Septuagint. In Mark and Luke the quotations from the Old Testament are throughout, to put it generally, transferred from the Septuagint. Did it stand alone, it might be regarded as pressing matters too far to deduce from the fact that Luke gives from the Septuagint the passage our Lord read in the synagogue in Nazareth, that the copy of the Scripture used in the synagogues was generally the Septuagint; yet taken along with the facts already mentioned, it becomes highly probable, at least with regard to the synagogues in Galilee.

Our Lord's argument with the Sadducees seems to turn on the use of *εἰμί* in the present tense instead of the past,—quoting in this practically verbatim from the Septuagint. As every one knows, the substantive verb in Ex. iii. 6 is omitted, as usually is the case, in the Hebrew. There is, of course, a deeper meaning to the phrase, which makes the argument independent of any mere play of words; but certainly the Greek of the

Septuagint brings out, by its insertion of the verb, the meaning of our Lord so obviously, that it is difficult to imagine that it was not from it that He was quoting. The Apostle Paul argues from the text of the Septuagint in Gal. iii. 16 in referring to the fact that it is *σπέρματι*, not *σπέρμασιν*, that is written. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, writing avowedly to Jews, quotes invariably from the Septuagint, generally with verbal accuracy. The points where the quotations differ from the passages as they appear in the Septuagint simply prove that the writer quoted *memoriter*. That, again, proves very great familiarity with the translation in question on the part of the writer, and an assumption that his readers were equally well acquainted with it. The point of his argument not unfrequently seems to turn on the precise phraseology of the Septuagint, *e.g.* iv. 5. We might go over all the quotations of the Old Testament in the New, and compare them with the Hebrew and the Septuagint, and we shall find that in the great majority of instances the correspondence between the Septuagint passage and the New Testament is so close as to necessitate the supposition of direct quotation. As mentioned above, Matthew and John, however, more frequently in the narrative portions of their Gospels, quote from the Hebrew and translate for themselves. This fact, in regard to John, has a bearing on the alleged late date of the fourth Gospel. The knowledge of Hebrew was very rare among Christians in the first quarter of the second century, and it is not conceivable that any one writing for a Hellenic audience, acquainted with the Septuagint, would translate from the Hebrew. If,

however, he were one like the Apostle John, born a Jew, accustomed to hear the Hebrew Scriptures read, and equally acquainted with Greek, Aramaic, and Hebrew, translation would probably be easier to him than verbal quotation from the Greek version. When the proof of the use of the Septuagint by the writers of the New Testament is so clear, and its influence upon them so obvious, it is necessary to devote some attention to it.

While it has influenced the apostles' minds, it is strange that its linguistic effect is not greater than it seems to be. There are certain peculiarities of the language of the Alexandrian version which neither the New Testament nor Josephus presents, *e.g.* making the third person plural of the second Aorist end in *οσαν*, and using the first Aorist from *εἶπα* rather than the second Aorist *εἶπον* when the first person singular is used. There are several other grammatical and lexical peculiarities which distinguish the language of the Alexandrian version from that of the New Testament.

As the version was made at different times and by very different hands, it is difficult to make general statements with regard to it as a whole. The Pentateuch is most carefully translated. In Samuel the translator seems to have had a different text before him from that adopted by the Masoretes; but further, there is a greater tendency to leave difficult words untranslated. In the case of the poetical books, as the difficulties are greater, the failures to represent the original are more frequent than in the historical books. In some of the prophets the version became at times

unintelligible. Not infrequently it is clear the translator had a reading different from that we now have.

In regard to a translation which aims, as the Septuagint does, at being literally faithful, it is difficult to trace any doctrinal tendency. Yet there are evidences of a desire to soften down anthropomorphisms, *e.g.* in Gen. vi. 6 the translator shrinks from attributing grief or repentance to God. Sometimes there are traces of theories held at the time, *e.g.* Deut. xxxii. 8. In the Authorised Version this verse is rendered, "When the Most High divided to the nations their inheritance, when He separated the sons of Adam, He set the bounds of the people according to the number of the children of Israel;" the last clause, which is somewhat difficult to understand, is rendered by the LXX., "According to the number of the angels of God." This view is in accordance with the angelology of the Book of Daniel, and is further developed by the later Apocalyptists. Dähne recognises traces of Platonism in several parts of the translation, where perhaps it may be regarded as a little doubtful. In Gen. ii. 5, like the Authorised Version, the Septuagint renders, "(The Lord God made) every plant of the field before it was in earth," instead of "before there was any plant in the earth." The rendering of the LXX. seems to indicate a belief in the Platonic ideas, which the translator regards as having been created before the actual plants of the field appeared. There are several other points that might be noticed; but whatever influence this version had in promoting a philosophic view of the faith delivered to the fathers, it was intensified in

other hands, and we shall have the opportunity to consider it further.

The same influences that were at work leading to the translation of the Law into Greek, manifested themselves in other directions. There were numerous writers whose names have come down to us in quotations from Polyhistor, and in the pages of Josephus, and of the early Christian Fathers. One of the most important of these was Ezekiel, a poet who wrote a tragedy—*Ἐξαγώγη*—in Iambics, on the departure of the children of Israel from Egypt. Some passages are quoted in Clemens Alexandrinus, and more in Eusebius, and one in Epiphanius. The poem, judging from the extracts, did not attain any very high degree of excellence; but yet the effort to write a tragedy in Greek proved a desire on the part of the author to make his national faith known to the Greeks by whom he was surrounded. It also proved that, while remaining true to the belief of his fathers, he had been much influenced by the literature of Greece. There are no traces of the apostolic writers being influenced by him.

Eusebius has preserved to us fragments of a number of other writers,—Artapanus, Eupolemus, Theodotus,—but these are of little value, and certainly had no appreciable effect on the thoughts of the early Church. They all represent the tendency of Alexandrian Judaism to assimilate itself externally to the surrounding Hellenism, and at the same time to commend its doctrines to the acceptance of outsiders. Theodotus has a certain interest attaching to him, as he seems to have been a Samaritan, and endeavoured in a poem

he wrote to urge the claims of Gerizim as superior to those of Jerusalem.

While the writers to whom we have been referring endeavoured to produce an apologetic for Judaism on the side of poetry and history, Philo put before him the higher object of reconciling the philosophy of Greece to the theology of Palestine. By position and education he was eminently suited for this office. Brought up in Alexandria, a city second only to Athens as a centre of intellectual activity, second only to Rome in commerce; surrounded at the same time by the largest and most influential Jewish community out of Palestine, he was in a position at once to receive all the influences exerted by Roman power and Hellenic culture, and at the same time was kept true to his ancestral belief by the fact that he was not solitary. An ardent student alike of Platonism and Judaism, he wished to mediate between the two, to show the Greek philosophers that in Moses was contained what they had endeavoured to reach by reasoning only, exhibited in a historical parabolic form; and to deliver his countrymen from their suspicion of Gentile thought and learning—to show to the Jew that the methods of Greek philosophy only served to reveal the profound depths that were in the law.

We know little about his life; but from the fact that he was an old man at the time of the famous embassy to Caligula, he must have been born at least twenty years before our era. He belonged to a family of wealth and influence; his brother (or nephew), Alexander, was Alabarch,[1] that is to say, head of the Jewish

[1] See Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, vii. 195, and Edersheim in Smith's *Dict.* "Philo."

community in Alexandria. He was wealthy enough to lend money to Agrippa when he was in financial difficulties, and respected enough to have the estate of Antonia, the mother of the Emperor Claudius, under his charge. Philo himself must have been wealthy, or the story of his wife saying, when the remark was made on the plainness of her attire, "The true ornament of a wife is the fame of her husband," would have been pointless; if Philo had been poor there would have been no need of remonstrance. The fact that he was employed in the embassy to the Emperor Caligula suits this view—a poor man could not have borne the expense of this. He is asserted to have been of Levitical descent,—a circumstance not improbable in itself, but neither confirmed nor negatived by anything in his writings.

The works that have come down to us from his pen are numerous and of great value. In no case have we his system set forth at length, but only piecemeal in his various treatises. He generally takes as the starting-point for his philosophical disquisition some event related in the books of Moses, and allegorises this in order to make it convey a Platonic meaning. In short, the great mass of his writings are sermons on texts from the Pentateuch. Thus he starts with the text, "And Cain said to Abel his brother, 'Let us go to the field.' And it came to pass that while they were in the field, Cain rose up against Abel his brother and slew him." Taking the word field as his point of departure, he shows that fields are where conflicts take place. Next he passes on to speak of Jacob, who leads his two wives into the field

to tell them of his plans in regard to their father; that next leads him to speak of Joseph being sent after his brethren. From this he makes the deduction, "It is evident they" (the sons of Jacob) "make halt in the plain of their irrational faculties. Joseph is sent to them because he cannot bear the austere wisdom of his father." He now devotes himself to the story of Joseph and his brethren, and by dint of giving explanation of the names of the persons and places involved, manages to introduce a great deal of Platonism into the narrative. Jacob sends Joseph to Sichem, because the name means "shoulder," and that again is the symbol of labour. He sees meanings in the name Hebron, and in the fact that "a man found Joseph working in the field." The latter, it seems, shows that labour by itself is not intrinsically good, but labour with skill. After this he gets back to Cain and Abel. Abel, we are told, refers everything to God, and is "the God-loving opinion." Cain, whose name means "acquisition," refers everything to himself, and is "the self-loving opinion." He takes his departure from them again to speak of Moses' encounter with the Egyptian "Sophists," and Rebecca advising Jacob to flee. He then returns to his text to endeavour to prove that Cain really killed himself, not Abel. But we cannot pursue all the sinuous windings of his discourse; let it suffice, that after every excursion he returns to the subject. Reverting to the idea he throws out of Cain killing himself while thinking he kills Abel, he then apostrophises Cain and those who are like him: "What hast thou done, oh wretched man? Does not the God-loving opinion which you

flatter yourself you have destroyed, live in the presence of God."

These sermons, as they may be called, although they form the bulk of his works, are by no means the whole of what Philo has left us. There are also philosophical treatises, *e.g.* "That every good man is free," and "concerning the contemplative life," already referred to. Also there is an account of the struggles of the Judæo-Alexandrian community against the tyranny of Flaccus, the Roman governor, and the madness of the Emperor Caius Caligula.

From this mass of literature we have to discover the philosophical thoughts assumed. The primary thought with Philo, as with all really great thinkers, is *God*. Alike a Jew and a Platonist, he is diametrically opposed to Pantheism. To him God is the Absolute Being, the One who cannot so much as be named. No qualities were to be attributed to Him, as all names and qualifications implied limitation. He was thus beyond human comprehension; but still He was absolutely distinct from the universe. Here appears the dualism which characterises the philosophy of Philo. Over against God, the active cause of the universe, there is a passive cause (*αἴτιον παθητικόν*). This matter, the *ὕλη* of Plato, is the material on which the active power of God is exercised. Matter was regarded as the source of all finitude—that is to say, negation or non-existence. It is impossible that the Absolute One should directly intervene in regard to matter. Even when the world was in a state of confusion and disorder, when Chaos reigned, it would be self-contradictory to believe that God

should intervene to produce order. It may be noted here that there is no question of absolute creation; probably Philo felt that to maintain that matter was created by God, would be to make God the author of evil. He did not see that this dualism of making matter an externally existent something over against God, really made God not to be God. This dilemma was seen afterwards by the Gnostics, and met in the mythological fashion so well known. The successive æons, each further from the Absolute than its predecessors, at length, though with difficulty, rendered the creation of matter possible. This Gnostic method was really a carrying out of the device suggested by Philo. Philo supposes that there are certain emanative potencies (*δυνάμεις*) who effect the will of God: these are the angels. This view is implied in the pseudepigraphic Apocalypses, especially in the Book of Enoch; it is also found in the Book of Revelation, where we have angels of the winds and of the waters. In this view there is nothing either unscientific or unphilosophical, still less anything really opposed to Scripture. Above those powers, though sometimes appearing almost a combination of them, is the *λόγος*, the reason of the Almighty. While, if we take the word as it stands, it might seem we have to do merely with the attribute of reason in God, a little more careful reading shows us that *logos* hypostatised and become personal. He is the "second God," *δευτέρος θέος*, "the first-born," "the archangel of many names." He comes forth and reduces the disorder and confusion of the world into cosmic order and beauty.

It seems impossible to deny that in a lesser degree Philo was being made a schoolmaster to lead men to Christ. The points of resemblance between the phraseology of Philo and that of Paul and John, especially of the latter, are too numerous to be merely accidental. It may be that this phraseology and these thoughts were the common property of the Jewish nation at the time; but, at all events, it was the product of Jewish Alexandrian thought in contact with Hellenism, and this contact and its effect were used by the Divine Spirit to prepare the way for the proclamation of the gospel. When Philo calls the *Logos* παράκλητος, and the Apostle John in the First Epistle, ii. 1, applies the same title to Him whom in his Gospel he calls *Logos*, we can scarcely think this resemblance due merely to accident; and as John wrote not impossibly half a century later than Philo, the most natural supposition is that the later writer adopted the phraseology of the earlier. It is quite true that the development of the doctrine in the hands of John is very great—that in the fourth Gospel there is a depth of meaning given to the title which was only shadowed forth in Philo; yet still we do find this forth-shadowing in Philo. We must also bear in mind that Philo in this represents only one step in a process of which the "wisdom" in the Book of Proverbs may be regarded as the lowest step; the Wisdom of Solomon, with its personification of Wisdom, a further advance; upon this Philo advances yet another step. Thus we see by gradual steps men were educated to receive the doctrine of the "word of God." As has been shown by Eders-

heim, the object of the *Logos* of Philo was to keep God apart from the world; that of the *Logos* of John was to reconcile the world with God. The מֵימְרָא יְהוָה of the Targum proves that this way of regarding creation in relation to God was in the air, though not improbably the Targumists, writing nearly a couple of centuries after Philo, may have borrowed from him. He declares the *Logos* to be the High Priest of men. Writing some thirty or forty years after our author, the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews applies the title High Priest to the second Person of the Trinity. The resemblance becomes all the more striking, that in proving Christ's exaltation the writer of the Hebrews compares Him with the angels with whom the *Logos* of Philo is associated. It is difficult to imagine that the later writer is not influenced in his phraseology by the earlier. Thus what may be called with little violence—the Christology of Philo, prepares the way for that of the gospel. The angelology of Philo, we have seen, is like that of the New Testament. In neither case had Philo fully thought himself out.

The anthropology of Philo presents points of analogy to that of Christianity. Although the phraseology is different, there is a trichotomy closely analogous to that of Paul. In Philo it is the *νοῦς* that is the highest part of man, the animal soul is the region of sensuous perception and impulse. Paul distinguishes between *νοῦς* and *πνεῦμα* where he speaks of "praying with the spirit and with the understanding also" (1 Cor. xiv. 15); but the functions he attributes to spirit are nearly akin to what Philo attributes to the *νοῦς*. In one point, certainly, there is a marked

distinction between the Christian standpoint and that of Philo. With the latter the body as matter is bad, and in it the soul is imprisoned, and once set free from the body the spirit never wishes to be fettered with it again. With Paul, although the spirit groans, being burdened, and looks for deliverance, that deliverance is "adoption" (*υἱοθέσια*), to use Paul's term—not the destruction of the body, but its redemption. With Paul the body is the temple of the Holy Ghost. This latter view is the necessary correlate of the doctrine of the resurrection. Yet with all this Philo was even here an intermediary, preparing the way for Christianity. To the Jew the body originally occupied—as we may say—too important a place. All the blessings promised him by God were temporal; all that he hoped for was, to live long in the land which the Lord his God had given him. It is true that higher spirits grasped loftier views; yet still the disembodied state was one to be dreaded, not longed for. Philo presented the other side with such force, that Paul's longing "to depart and be with Christ" found a sympathetic chord in the breasts of listeners; and his fervent declaration that this was "far better," was cordially re-echoed. Philo brings the *Logos* into close relationship with man. He—the *Logos*—is the type according to which man is made; and in course of this he makes use of the term *χαρακτήρ*, the very term applied by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews to Christ. Philo makes a distinction between *ἄνθρωπος οὐράνιος* and *ἄνθρωπος γήϊνος*, which is found also in Paul's Epistles to the Corinthians. With Philo the heavenly man is he whose creation is narrated in

Gen. i. 27. When he comes into union with earth he becomes earthly, whereas the earthly (χοϊκός) man is Adam. With Paul, on the other hand, as we all know, the heavenly Adam is the Lord from heaven. Thus Paul really carries out Philo's doctrine to its logical issue. Here, again, we have Philonian doctrine taken, transformed, and deepened by being baptized unto Christ, yet still fundamentally the Philonian doctrine.

Closely akin to Anthropology is Ethics. Fundamentally Philo is a Platonist in thought, so in Ethics we find he makes the fourfold division of the virtues which we find in the *Republic*. The four virtues of prudence, temperance, courage, and justice he sees symbolised in the four rivers of Eden. These four virtues maintain a warfare against the sensuous nature. Although we do not find any such classification of the virtues in Christianity, yet they all find place, and the conflict between the higher and lower nature is clearly recognised, the "war in the members," as Paul calls it. This conflict is not seen in Judaism. Certainly the psalmists and prophets manifest longings which yet they recognise themselves unable to gratify, but never is the figure of conflict used. The predestinationism of Christianity, especially in the Pauline presentation of it, has seemed to some to contradict this conflict; yet the same contradiction—if contradiction it be—is found in Philo. Thus the points in which Philo was the forerunner of Christ are numerous. In regard, however, to the great distinctive doctrine of Christianity—the resurrection—he is defective.

From his broad philosophic view of things he had lost sight to a great extent of the Messianic hopes of

Israel. He certainly looked forward to a Messianic state of things, but he was too cosmopolitan to unite this with the coming of a Messiah of the house of David. In this broad view, looking upon all mankind as sharers of the glories of the Messianic times, Philo may be regarded as preparing the way for the Pauline doctrine, that in Christ the Messiah there was neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free. Philo had not the insight given him to recognise the possibility of a Messiah, such as our Lord was, anointed to suffer, and by suffering to rule over the hearts and consciences of men—not over their bodies. Such a Messiah can scarcely be said to have been dreamed of among the Jews, and we cannot blame Philo that he did not rise above his age. Israel with Philo is to have a preference; but the symbolic is so much mixed up with the actual that it is difficult to make sure that the earthly Israel is meant and not the true Israel, the wise who have conquered their passions.

Philo does not seem ever to have come in contact with Christianity. He must have heard of it; but to one whose philosophic system was all made up, any change would be a matter of difficulty. He praised the Essenes, who, we have seen, had a close connection with Christianity; but it was because they seemed to him to represent the contemplative life which Plato had commended. The mixture of activity and contemplation which was manifested by such Christians as Paul, was foreign to Philo's whole nature.

We have postponed till now the consideration of Aristobulus for two reasons. In the first place, his date is doubtful. If it be granted that the work,

references to which have come down to us under this name, was genuine, the Ptolemy under whom he wrote is doubtful, though probably the balance may be in favour of the time of Ptolemy Philometor; but further, Eichhorn, Grätz, and others, with at least a show of reason, have doubted his existence altogether. But our second reason is more important, he seems to us the first *falsarius* of the peculiar type which became so prevalent in Alexandria. His work, to judge by the fragments preserved to us in Clement of Alexandria and in Eusebius, is a defence of the thesis that all the learning and culture of Greece was borrowed from the Jews; and this is defended by quotations from the works of ancient Greek poets, the great mass of which quotations are arrant forgeries. It is true Schürer thinks that he did not actively forge these quotations, but that he found them already done by some earlier *falsarius*, and merely passed the false coin unwittingly. The simplest supposition is, in such circumstances, the best, and that is that Aristobulus did his own forgery. His forgeries imposed upon the Christian Church for long.[1] He seems to have been reckoned a Peripatetic (Clem. Alex. i. 15), but he not unlikely was largely an Eclectic. He must have occupied a place of considerable prominence in the Jewish community in Alexandria.

The letter of Aristeas we need only refer to as containing a specimen of a *falsarius'* work of the kind produced by Aristobulus. It purports to be the

[1] These forgeries have not yet exhausted their influence. In a work in defence of the Sabbath which we recently saw, sentences in support of the observance of a seventh day are quoted as from Homer, whose certainly they are not. Aristobulus was really their author.

account, by a Gentile, Aristeas by name, of the translation of the Septuagint. It is only one of a series of marvellous accounts of that work.

There are several other works that might be mentioned from which Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, and Eusebius quote—Orphic poems, poems of Linus, etc., all barefaced forgeries to which we need not further refer.

Much more important, both from their bulk and their effect on later times, are the so-called Sibylline books. They are poems in hexameter verse, arranged in fourteen books, some of which, however, are totally lost, and some remain in the merest fragments. The ninth and tenth, according to Alexandre, have totally disappeared, and the sixth is represented only by twenty-eight lines. However, it is misleading to speak of separate books; that statement conveys to most minds the idea, erroneous so far as the Sibyllines are concerned, that there is really a unity of which these several books are portions. This is, however, not the case. The different books have really no connection with each other. Further, it ought to be said, the books even taken individually are not unities, they have been subjected to interpolations of all kinds. Indeed it sometimes seems to one reading any one of the longer books, as if a number of disconnected fragments of different authorship and date had been strung together and put under one title.

The origin of these books was a peculiar one. The story is told in Pliny, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, and Aulus Gellius, of a Sibyl bringing sacred books to one of the Tarquins, who bought them, after they had been

diminished by two-thirds, at the same price at which he would at first have got the whole number. These books were preserved beneath the temple of the Capitoline Jove, and were consulted from time to time during the earlier days of the Roman Republic. In B.C. 85 the Capitol was burnt, and in the conflagration perished the Sibylline books. By order of Sulla all Sibylline fragments that could be found were gathered together, and a new collection was made to take the place of the old. This was added to by Augustus, who caused a further search to be instituted for Sibylline fragments. At this time, not improbably, began the fabrication of these pseudo-Sibylline books. Originally Jewish, they have been extensively interpolated by Christian hands.

The first book to the 306th line gives an account of the history of the world till its division among the three sons of Noah. Then, by a leap over the intervening space of time, the coming of Christ is narrated, evidently by a Christian hand. He is described as the Son of the great God, made like to man on earth; that His name should have four vowels and two consonants (*Ἰησοῦς*); and that the sum of these letters would be 888, a mode of signifying a person, interesting from its resemblance to the 666 of Revelation. The second book is exclusively Christian, giving an account of the last judgment, in which Elijah is to play a prominent part. In the third book, after a preamble which seems for the most part to be of Christian origin,[1] the story of the beginning of the first book is

[1] There are some portions that seem to point to an earlier date, 46–48,—

Αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ Ῥώμη καὶ Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύσει
Εἰς ἓν ἰθύνουσα τότε δὴ βασιλεία μεγίστη
Ἀθανάτου βασιλῆος ἐπ' ἀνθρώποισι φανεῖται.

resumed; the history of the race from the building of Babel, is carried on with a wide sweep to the founding of the Solomonic kingdom. This leads the writer to give an account (215) of the Jewish nation. There is an interpolation here of a hundred lines about the Macedonian power. The next portion of this third book is devoted to the prophecy of desolation to fall on Rome and Asia Minor, borrowed to appearance from the Apocalypse. The further portion from 489 to the end is the most interesting, as exhibiting Jewish Messianic hopes. After describing the woes to fall on the heathen nation, it refers to the coming of a king from the same (653) sent by God, who would make the Jews everywhere victorious. Then follows a description of Messianic times:—

καὶ τότε δ' ἐξεγερεῖ βασιλήιον εἰς αἰῶνας
πάντας ἐπ' ἀνθρώπους ἅγιον νομὸν ὅς ποτ'[1] ἔδωκεν
εὐσεβέσι.

Then shall He, who formerly gave the holy law to the pious, take the kingdom for ever over all men.

After this there is a description of lambs and wolves playing together, and tigers and kids feeding in one herd, evidently drawn from Isaiah. The rest of the books may be regarded as Christian.

It may be doubted whether there is any sign of the writers of the New Testament being influenced by the Sibylline books. The third book is quoted, according to Alexandre, by Josephus, *Antiq.* i. 4; but the sense merely is given, not the words. After that time references to the Sibyl are frequent among Christian writers. At last the Sibyls share with the prophets

[1] Reading thus after Alexandre, instead of ὅπποτ', the common reading.

the honour of being painted on the roof of the Sistine Chapel by Michael Angelo. However great the interest one may have in these works on account of the influence they have exercised on Christian thought, yet still for our present purpose they have not much importance. The third book may have been known in a vague way in Palestine; but the quotation Josephus makes does not prove this. As the *Antiquities* were not written till he had lived a score of years in Rome, he might easily have met this book among his Jewish friends there, especially those who had Hellenised. That the third book was composed in Egypt in the reign of Augustus—at least that certain portions of it were—seems incontestible, and therefore that it might have influenced Jewish thought in Palestine is not impossible. It is of interest to us as exhibiting the apocalyptic spirit transferred from Palestine to Alexandria, and doffing its Hebrew dress for the robe of the Hellenist.

CHAPTER X.

NON-APOCALYPTIC PALESTINIAN LITERATURE.

THE Alexandrian translation of the Scripture, although the most famous and the one which had most influence on the evolution of Christian thought, was not alone. From the fact that Hebrew had gradually sunk out of knowledge even in Palestine, it became necessary, when the Scripture was read, to have one to interpret. In some cases the difficulty seems to have been got over by using the Greek version in the synagogue; but this could scarcely be always the case. Most likely this practice of using the Greek version would be most common in those portions of the Holy Land where the Hellenic towns were most numerous, and therefore the Greek tongue most generally known, as in Galilee and Decapolis.

The tongue that had taken the place of Hebrew was what is somewhat inappropriately called Chaldee. It differs considerably from the language spoken in Nineveh and Babylon, but seems to have been regarded as the language in which international business could be transacted, as may be seen from the request Eliakim and Shebna addressed (2 Kings xviii. 26) to Rabshakeh, to speak to them in Aramaic or Chaldee, not in Hebrew. If the Chaldees were, as seems not improbable, Accadians, then the language they used was very far removed

from what is called Chaldee, as Accadian is not even a Shemitic language.[1] Aramaic is, on the whole, a better term, as it unites the two dialects, Syriac and Chaldee, under one name. Dwelling in Mesopotamia during the time of the captivity, the Jews got a mastery of this common tongue. When they came back to their own land they found colonists from all quarters occupying large portions both of the Southern and Northern kingdom, and with them intercourse could only be carried on by means of Aramaic; thus more and more was the habit introduced of speaking in this somewhat limited and simple language. At first, purists like Nehemiah and Ezra fought against this, and endeavoured to check the introduction of the language of Ashdod among the chosen people; but the current was too strong to be in the long run successfully stemmed. Tradition, veering round, credits Ezra with the introduction of the Targum, or interpretation of the Hebrew Scripture, into the current Aramaic.

There seems to be little doubt that when the Hebrew Scriptures were read in the synagogue they had to be interpreted, and that these interpretations were called Targums. When these Targums were reduced to writing seems extremely doubtful. About the middle of the fourth century of our era some of them seem to have been extant, but how long before is not to be settled authoritatively; but the probability is that the written form originated not very long before the date above mentioned. That being so, these Targums might at once be dismissed as valueless for our purpose, were it not that there are indications that

[1] The Ninevite tongue is more closely akin to Hebrew than to Aramaic.

in these collections we have the traditional rendering of the Hebrew Scriptures into Aramaic. No one needs to be told how certainly anything connected with a liturgic service becomes stereotyped. The *parashoth* of the law and the *haphtaroth* of the prophets were read regularly day after day, so that the Scriptures were read through in three years; thus the interpretation would be repeated year after year and handed down from reader to reader.

The most important of these Targums are those of Onkelos on the Pentateuch, and of Jonathan ben Uzziel on the prophets. These two are practically translations into Aramaic of these portions of Scripture, and good honest versions they are. Of Onkelos, positively nothing is known for certain. There is repeated mention in the Talmud of Onkelos the proselyte, but there is no evidence that he had anything to do with this Targum, rather there is evidence that Onkelos was simply a Rabbinic mode of writing Aquila. He, we know, wrote a Greek version intended to correct the inaccuracies, real and pretended, of the Septuagint. The crediting of this *Targum* of the law to Onkelos seems to have proceeded from the stupendous ignorance and wilful inaccuracy to be met with in every page of the Talmud. It was known that Aquila had translated the law into some language, and that this translation was regarded as being scrupulously accurate. Greek was looked on with suspicion by the time these traditions were fabricated, therefore this highly-respected interpreter must have written the *Targum* in Aramaic. There are also many traditions about Jonathan ben Uzziel which are of equal value

as those in regard to Onkelos. It was boldly asserted that he had heard Zechariah, Haggai, and Malachi; that he would have proceeded after making a version of the prophets to make one of the *Kethubim*, but he was warned by a heavenly voice not to proceed with it. Although he was declared to have written his version at the mouth of the last three prophets, at the same time he was asserted to have been a disciple of the elder Hillel. Although Jonathan ben Uzziel was warned not to proceed with the Targum of the Hagiographa, Joseph the Blind rendered several of them into Aramaic, or at least got the credit of doing so: these are Job, Psalms, Proverbs, and the five Megilloth—two *Targumim* on Esther are ascribed to him. Besides Onkelos' Targum on the Pentateuch there is another attributed to Jonathan ben Uzziel; but from the greater number of additions and variations from the original, it is generally recognised not to be by the same hand as that on the prophets. It is usually known as the Targum of the pseudo-Jonathan. There is what may be called a third Targum on the Pentateuch, yet more paraphrastic than the last named, known as the Jerusalem Targum; it seems really a recension of that of the pseudo-Jonathan. Such are the principal Targums that have come down to us. There are further Targums on Chronicles and Daniel, but these are of even less value than those we have named.

It is thus only a very indirect light they can throw on opinions in Palestine during the days of our Lord or the time of the Apocalyptic writings. Both Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel when they make deviations

from the text, not to be attributed to difference of reading, do so usually to remove anthropomorphisms in regard to God to soften down the crimes of the patriarchs, or by paraphrase to explain difficulties. In these instances, of course, we may be able to trace the effect of opinions. Thus those passages where it is said "Jehovah went down" are changed into "Jehovah revealed Himself." This abhorrence of anthropomorphism proves the higher idea of God prevalent at the time the Targum was written. Sometimes we have a translation which is really an exegesis of the passage. Thus in the blessing of Jacob, Onkelos translates שִׁילֹה as מְשִׁיחָא, thus interpreting that difficult title. There are several other instances that might be mentioned. The Targum of Jonathan is considerably more paraphrastic than that of Onkelos.

Really, however, it is exceedingly doubtful how far the Targums reveal much of Jewish opinion. The probability certainly is that to some extent there was a close family resemblance among the Aramaic versions given by each successive reader in the synagogue from the earliest times, yet nothing can be rested on this. As these versions were not written, a change in the popular mood of thought would excuse a slight variation in the words, and would be almost imperceptible. While each change individually might be very small, successive changes might involve in the end the greatest difference between the first version and the last. Of course, against this is the tendency of the liturgies to become stereotyped even when handed down by tradition. While this applies to a certain extent to Onkelos and Jonathan ben Uzziel, much more does it

apply to Joseph Cæcus, the pseudo-Jonathan, and the Jerusalem Targum. One usage in the Targums must be referred to which has been examined by Winer, *De Onkeloso*. Instead of using יְיָ, the Aramaic equivalent of יְהוָה, very frequently the Targumists write instead מֵימְרָא, "word." This suggests certainly the "Word" of the prologue of the Gospel of John, the connection of which with Philo has been already noted. Whether this practice on the part of the Targumists was due to the influence of Philo, or whether it sprang up independently, is difficult to say. While the Platonic ideas gave a starting-point for the Philonian λόγος, no similar source can be suggested in regard to Babylonian Judaism of the fourth century; hence the balance of probability seems decidedly in favour of this usage being borrowed from Philo. This transference of influence from Hellenic thought to Judaism in an indirect way may be seen in the confusion of Aquila with this fabled Onkelos. It does not invalidate this to take Szinessy's view, that the meaning of the title Targum of Onkelos is one "after the manner of Aquila."

Another work, or rather collection of works, requires to be looked at. The Talmud occupies in the Babylonian and Jerusalem recension something like twelve or thirteen volumes, folio or quarto according to the edition. When one opens a volume, the page that he sees presents a strange appearance. Rather nearer the top than the centre of the page is a quadrangular patch of clear printing, in ordinary Hebrew; the letters are of the ordinary size of character to be found in an octavo Hebrew Bible, the size of the page to which the quadrangular patch we spoke of approximates.

Around this on every side, above and below, is a mass of printing in much smaller type, late Hebrew—this is a dialect abounding in Aramaisms, and printed in Rabbinic character. The quadrangular patch is the Mishna, and the black mass round it is the Gemara or commentary on it. There are, further, considerable appendices. Other pages present other peculiarities, but this is the most general appearance.

The Mishna, as its name indicates, is the repetition of the Law. It is mainly composed of *Halachoth*, or decisions of successive Rabbins on points regarded of importance by the Pharisaic party. It is asserted to have been committed to writing somewhat late in the second century by Rabbi Jehudah the holy, but it professes to contain the decisions of the fathers back to the days of the great synagogue. Rabbinic scholars have been prone to represent these decisions as of high value; and they might be so were there any evidence that they were accurately recorded; but the exaggerations, trivialities, and absurdities that abound render it extremely difficult to imagine that those who had so completely lost the sense of the credible and seem never to have possessed the instinct of accuracy, should be credited with scrupulous accuracy in regard to the opinions of those who had preceded them. The way that certain names recur and re-recur is in itself highly suspicious, even if there were no other grounds of suspicion. Even the date at which it was committed to writing is very doubtful. The fourth century is almost as probable a date as the second for the origin of the written Mishna.

The Mishna is divided into six *Sedarim* or sections,

each of these into ten tracts on an average, or sixty-one tracts in all, and each of these into rather less than nine chapters on an average. The first section is in regard to "seeds," the second in regard to "festivals," the third in regard to "women," the fourth in regard to "damages," the fifth in regard to "holy things," and the sixth in regard to "justification." This general summary gives an idea of the nature of the subjects taken up. The whole subject is in each case treated from the low level of ceremonial, and the reasons for the decisions come to are absurd to the last degree. The numerical value of the letters composing a phrase is equal to the numerical value of the letters composing another phrase, and from this a deduction is made. A phrase vocalised one way means one thing, vocalised another way means another thing; these two meanings are made to limit each other. Again, a verbal turn is made to serve as the foundation for a principle. Unwitting that it is the greatest condemnation of themselves and their methods, the Rabbins assert that the law concerning the Sabbath is like a mountain suspended by a hair. A favourable example is the question with which the Mishna opens — "When may the Israelite say his evening *sh'ma*, (Hear, O Israel, the Lord thy God is one Lord)?" one Rabbi gives one decision and another gives another, through some half a dozen, till at length Rabbi *Gamaliel's* opinion is given, with the occasion of it. His sons had been at a banquet, and they came home after midnight and appealed in distress to their father whether they could still repeat their evening confession of faith. *Gamaliel's* answer was, "You

can do so till the pillar of day appears in the sky." In many instances fantastic reasons are added for each of the decisions. Little as the value of these decisions may be in themselves, they would have some value as evidences of thought and feeling in Palestine at a given time, could we have any confidence that the successive Rabbins whose names are connected with the several decisions had really given them. But this confidence we certainly cannot have.

The Talmud is literally saturated with falsehood. Thus we have the fiction of two schools with always parallel masters, the most famous pairs being Abtalion and Shemaiah, and Hillel and Shammai. To say that this invariable parallelism was highly improbable is to put it very mildly, when we remember that Hillel is asserted to have lived over the century. Was it likely Shammai was head of the opposing school as long as his long-lived rival? As unlikely is it that in the long line of pairs there would occur no case where the teacher in the one school overlived two successive teachers in the other. This brings up another misrepresentation of which the Talmud is guilty. These teachers in what we may call the Pharisaic academy were represented as being the president and vice-president of the Sanhedrin. A view of matters nearly as absurd as if an Oxonian of future generations were to maintain that the late T. H. Green and Professor Jowett were members of Her Majesty's Government; or as if a Cantabrian of the present time were to hold that the Speaker of the House of Commons in the days of Queen Anne was Richard Bentley. We find a similar growth of unreliable legends among the

monks in the Middle Ages. The Jews, at the time when the Mishna was compiled, were shut off, like the monks, from all opportunity of healthy ambition or any hope of influencing history. They retired therefore into their imagination, and invented a history of the past. This characteristic appears most in the Hagadic portion of the Mishna, and is therefore more noticeable still in the Gemara.

The Gemara is a commentary on the Mishna; and some would restrict the term Talmud to the Gemara, as does Schiller-Szinessy. The Hagada is an enlargement or extension of some precepts in the Mishna. In some instances there are beauties to be found among these; in so many folio volumes it is scarcely possible but that something precious should be found; but it is little in comparison to the numerous trivialities. The childishness of the mass of these tracts is their most striking characteristic. Later Jewish tracts carry into yet greater excess all the worst qualities of the Talmud. Were it not that the reader is impressed with this childishness, he would at times be horror-struck at the hideous blasphemy of representing the Almighty as arguing in the schools with their legal doctors, and by no means with success; in fact, the Almighty is represented as needing to be informed by these Rabbins of what actually was in His own law. Thus in *Avoda Sara*, Rabbi Jehuda said that *Kaf* has said, "The day has twelve hours; in the first three God sits and studies the law, in the next three He sits and judges the whole world, in the third three He sits and nourishes the whole world, and the last three He sits and plays with Leviathan." This may be regarded as bad enough;

but another of these wonderful stories narrates how there were discussions in heaven as to the question of ceremonial uncleanness in regard to blisters and whitening of the hair in leprosy, and in this matter God Almighty maintained one opinion, and the rest of the "academy" of heaven maintained the opposite. In order to settle the dispute, the angel of death was sent for a certain *Rabbi ben Nachmani*, and when brought *ben Nachmani* graciously took the side of God Almighty, who blessed him in consequence. Sometimes even they go the length of representing the Almighty as defeated in argument. Nay more, they relate that when the temple was burned, the Almighty sat still, complaining, till Asaph came and ordered Him to leave off; and that when He buried Moses He became ceremonially unclean.

Of course there are numerous and nameless blasphemies of Christ, which, horrible as they are, may be regarded as the endeavour to excuse their unbelief to themselves. Yet there is a childishness in their most venomous statements that induces contempt rather than hatred. We need not waste any more time with this really worthless collection of tracts; at least they are worthless for our purpose. They do give us some information of the opinions of the Jews in the earlier portion of the Middle Ages, but as to the state of opinion in Palestine in the days of our Lord, or while the Apocalyptic books were written, their evidence is simply worth nothing.

The proofs that are brought forward that our Lord borrowed from Hillel, rest on the resemblance between the maxims attributed to Hillel in the Talmud and the

sayings recorded of our Lord. The whole evidence for Hillel's sayings is this Talmud, written at the earliest some hundred and fifty years after Hillel's death,—more probably actually committed to writing a couple of centuries later still. In any other matter such evidence would be reckoned absolutely worthless. If Hillel were such an important personage as the Talmud represents him to be, why does Josephus never so much as mention him? Fear and hatred alike might keep him silent about our Lord, if silent he was, but these reasons cannot be advanced to account for his silence in regard to Hillel.

While, as we saw in regard to the Targums and the Septuagint, the object of the writers was to soften or remove everything savouring of anthropomorphism in regard to God, in the Talmud the writers seem to delight in the absurdest anthropomorphisms. The same tendency to remove anthropomorphism may be seen in the Book of Jubilees, as we shall see later, and also in Josephus, which we shall have occasion to discuss immediately. The strange fantastic mood of mind manifested by the Talmudists was thus diametrically opposed to that exhibited by the writers whose dates we know fall within the period with which we have to do. This would indicate that these sayings belong to a totally different period, and prove, even if there were nothing else, how valueless is the evidence of the Talmud for our present purpose.

In regard to the Messianic hopes of Israel also, the whole atmosphere of the Talmud, unlike that of our period, is that of disappointment and the sense of failure. "The times have all flowed past when the

Messiah was to come," and this, although they interpret Messianically the reference in the blessing of Jacob to the coming of Shiloh, and also many of the prophecies. Notwithstanding, their imagination runs riot over impossible glories to be experienced when He does come. Such flights are really a *reductio ad impossibile* of the national hopes. What other is it when it is asserted that each Israelite should have two thousand eight hundred servants? This latter statement is from the *Jalkut Shimoni*, but still it represents the same movement.

Still less can any value be assigned to the Kabbala. This system of theosophic doctrine is mainly known to us through the book *Zohar*, which claims to be written by Rabbi Simeon ben Jochai, who is traditionally reported to have lived in the end of the first century of our era—to have flourished, in short, just after the fall of Jerusalem. It further claims that he has embodied in it the esoteric wisdom that had been revealed to prophet after prophet from Adam downwards. Taking the text of the books of Moses, this book applies to the words all manner of absurd methods—methods already in use in the Talmud. Sometimes a word is treated as a cipher, and *athbash* or *albam* applied to it, and new meanings are extracted. Again *gematria* is used—a method we have already referred to, by which the numerical value of two clauses being equal, they are regarded as equivalent in meaning. About the period of the Renascence, the doctrines of the Kabbala had considerable influence among Hebrew scholars both in church and synagogue, and the veritable existence of Simeon ben Jochai was believed in. Subsequent in-

vestigation has proved that the book in question was not written till about A.D. 1300. It may or may not contain elements as old as the date it claims as that of its author, but there are no means of testing it, and most of its contents are worthless, whatever their date.

We thus see it is extremely doubtful whether we have any remains in Hebrew or Aramaic of the first or of even the second century of our era, still less of the period of the Apocalyptists. If Professor Roberts' theory is correct, that the language of business, and therefore of literature, and even of worship, was Greek, it is but natural that there should be few Hebrew remains from that period. We shall see that we have the fragments of works—more or less copious—that were originally composed in Hebrew and Aramaic. It is, however, only the translations and retranslations of these that have reached us.

We shall now turn to Greek historical works of Palestinian origin. The earliest of these of which we have any notice is the history of the reign of John Hyrcanus the First. It is referred to in the end of the First Book of the Maccabees. We have no fragments of it surviving. While we assume it to have been written in Greek, it may have been written in Hebrew or in Aramaic. It is to be presumed that Josephus has made use of it in his account of the reign of Hyrcanus.

Nearly as voluminous as Philo, Josephus has been much more generally read and studied; partly, no doubt, because his works are in the main narrative, but greatly because by the account he gives of the siege

of Jerusalem, the fulfilment of our Lord's prophecy is seen in all its terrible reality narrated by an eye-witness. While in regard to Philo our information is in the last degree scanty, in regard to Josephus it is singularly full, as he has left us his autobiography. He was of the seed of Aaron, and belonged to the course Joiarib, the first of the twenty-four courses; his mother was of the race of Hasmonæans. He thus could claim to belong to the highest caste of his nation.

He was born in the year A.D. 37, the first year of the Emperor Caligula, and, along with his brother, was carefully educated. In order to attain a knowledge of the different sides of Judaism, he became a follower of one Banus, who seems to have been an Essene, or perhaps a Judaising Christian. He became a Pharisee after having been three years with Banus. As one of priestly caste, he would be acquainted with the Sadducean party; indeed that is the party to which he naturally belonged. Josephus may then be regarded as having gone the round of the Jewish sects, and thus is in a position to say what their respective peculiarities were. It must be noted here that in his accounts there is a tendency to parallel the Jewish religious sects with the Greek philosophic sects. Thus he declares the Pharisees to be like the Stoics, and the Sadducees like the Epicureans. This so far militates against the absolute accuracy of what he says.

At a comparatively early age he was sent to Rome, and after suffering a shipwreck on his way thither, in which, like the Apostle Paul, he was a night and a day on the deep, he landed, again like Paul, at Puteoli, and thence proceeded to Rome, and, securing

Aliturus as advocate with Nero, got a favourable presentation at the Imperial Court. He gained the ear of the Empress Poppæa, and by her influence with the emperor succeeded in having the priests released whose imprisonment by Felix was the cause of his mission.

Not long after his return the war broke out in Judea, and he was appointed to a command in Galilee. At first, according to his own account, he was exposed to considerable intrigue on the part of John of Gischala, from which he successfully extricated himself. When the campaign against Galilee was actually commenced by Vespasian, Josephus threw himself into Jotapata, and defended it long and vigorously, only surrendering when the supply of water was cut off. When he was made prisoner by the Romans he was taken into the favour of Vespasian by prophesying that he should become emperor, a vaticination which he declares he made from the old prophets. He made out Vespasian the Messiah promised to the fathers. He thus sold the birthright of his people, the hope of a Messiah the son of David, for a mess of pottage.

After the capture of Jerusalem, Josephus went to Rome with his patron, Titus, the son of the Emperor Vespasian, and partook in the glories of his triumph. It must have been with mingled feelings that he looked on the spectacle which signalised the suppression of his nation and the overthrow of its worship after unheard-of sufferings. Nevertheless he set himself to perpetuate that triumph by writing his first literary work, *The History of the Wars of the Jews*, an account of the conflicts of the Jews with the Romans.

Some twenty years after the publication of this work, when Vespasian and Titus his son were both dead, Josephus published his *Antiquities of the Jews*, an account of the history of the Jewish people from the earliest times. In the beginning the Scriptures are drawn upon, and later he draws on the First Book of the Maccabees and the history of John Hyrcanus I. In regard to the Persian period, after the Biblical record fails him, his account is decidedly defective. Reading his account one would, as we have remarked above, be left with the impression that Darius Codomannus succeeded immediately to Artaxerxes Longimanus. He certainly does not say that the last king of Persia succeeded directly to the grandson of Darius Hystaspis, but that as certainly is implied. He next wrote a defence of this work against Apion. Apion seems to have been an inveterate opponent of Judaism. This book contains a fuller exhibition of the theological views of Josephus than his histories do. Last of all, he wrote the book usually called his life, but which is really a defence of himself against the accusations of one Justus, who wrote a history, no part of which, however, has come down to us. The account of the sufferings of the Jewish Maccabean martyrs, commonly known as the Fourth Book of the Maccabees, is sometimes attributed to him, and is usually bound along with his works. Its authorship, however, is extremely doubtful. The year of his death is not known, but he seems to have lived to the reign of Trajan.

As a youth, he probably learned both Greek and Aramaic. The first edition of his work on the wars

of the Jews was in Aramaic; but afterwards, finding possibly that his work was not popular with the limited public to which it alone was open, he translated it into Greek. In this work he owns he had the help of certain assistants, *τισὶ συνεργοῖς*, in translating it into Greek. This explains, probably, the way in which he has succeeded in avoiding all Hebraisms. To see the difference of writings composed under such auspices, and truly Hebraistic writings, one has only to compare Josephus with the Septuagint. He probably knew Greek as well as, or better, than the apostles; but living among those who were greater purists in Hellenic style, he felt his need of assistance.

It may be noted in support of our view, that he most generally is guided by the Septuagint where it differs from the Hebrew; that in regard to the antediluvian patriarchs, the numbers he gives are according to the Septuagint, save in the case of Lamech, where he follows the Hebrew. He evidently used the Hebrew as well as the Septuagint, as may be seen when he tells the story of David and Goliath; the parts omitted in the Septuagint are evidently used. Edersheim notes cases where his Hebrew is at fault,—a fact which contradicts the statement that the doctors of the law came to consult him when he was a boy of fourteen. As to his dependence on the Rabbins, a good deal of what is brought forward in support of this may be explained the other way. Great as was the Rabbinic hatred of him, some of these matters, in which he agrees with them, may have come from him to them. Dr. Edersheim's view, that Josephus has been influenced by the Essenes, is extremely probable,

the more so as he relates that he was, as we have already said, at one time the disciple of the Essene Banus. After the temple was laid in ruins, the Essene position of the worthlessness of sacrifices was the natural one for a person situated as was Josephus to take up.

One cannot leave Josephus without taking notice of his well-known testimony to the character of Christ. It seems impossible that, seeing he mentions the death of the Apostle James and the preaching of John the Baptist, he can totally omit all reference to our Lord. If strictly analysed, there is nothing in the passage which is absolutely impossible for a Jew to have written and yet remained a Jew. Even the phrase, "if man he could be called," εἴγε ἄνδρα αὐτὸν λέγειν χρή, may simply have reference to His claims, meant to be taken seriously or sarcastically as the reader chose. The story of Paulina that immediately follows renders the latter probably the sense in Josephus' mind. The other difficult phrase, "this was the Christ" (ὁ Χριστὸς οὗτος ἦν), may mean simply, this is the author of Christianity that we are all hearing about now. The assertion of the resurrection may be merely meant to indicate what was the assertion of the Christians. If there is anything in the tradition that the cousin of Domitian had become a Christian, Josephus might endeavour to trim his sail to any breeze that might come. A good deal can be said, however, for the position that the sentence has been modified by a Christian hand.

The main advantage accruing to us from Josephus' writings at present is the view he gives of the state of religious opinion in Palestine in his own time, which

was so nearly the time of our Lord; especially valuable, as we have said, is his account of the then great sects of the Jews. His views with regard to the Canon are also important, as showing the definite way in which the sacred books are regarded, marked off from all other writings. His quotations, we must admit, rather lessen the value of his testimony, for he quotes the whole of the *Midrash* in First (Third) Esdras about Zerubbabel and his contest as to what was the strongest thing in the world. He quotes also the additions to Esther, and, evidently misled by the blunder of the Septuagint, calls Ahasuerus Artaxerxes. Singularly enough he does not make any use of any of the Apocalyptic books save Daniel.

The value of Josephus is very considerable, but is somewhat lessened by the fact already adverted to, that he wrote with a view to ingratiate himself with the Romans. He does not seem to have made himself prominent against the Christians.

BOOK II.

EVOLUTION OF APOCALYPTIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE NATURE AND OCCASION OF APOCALYPSE.

FEW persons of literary sensibility can fail to be charmed with the exquisite beauty of those latter chapters of Isaiah, which are called by critics "the second Isaiah,"—"the prophecies of the Great Unknown." From the lovely song of consolation with which the prophecy opens, and which has been glorified to us by the music of Handel, to the solemn description of the end of the enemies of God with which it closes, it is full of beauty. If, now, the reader, with his ear full of the cadences of the evangelical prophet, and his mind thrilling with the emotions that have been stirred by them, turns to the Book of Daniel, he will at once feel he is in a distinctly different plane, and also a distinctly lower plane of poetic inspiration. This feeling is strengthened if we take parts of Isaiah and compare them with corresponding parts of the prophecies of Daniel. In Isaiah there is the utmost variety of mood; there is bitter and contemptuous sarcasm of idol worship; there is sublime recognition of the greatness and purity of Jehovah; there is tenderness; there is wonder in the description of the suffering yet glorified Messiah; there is dignified rebuke of the enemies of the people of God, sometimes even wild exultation in the thought of the coming of Jehovah in

His power to tread down these enemies in His fury; there are wailing confessions of sin, and songs of ecstatic rejoicing.

When we turn to Daniel we find, on the other hand, little or no variety of feeling—indeed, rarely any feeling at all. Visions and events are described in simple prose; and very rarely does the grandeur and beauty of what he sees move the narrator even to a style rhetorically ornate. Never by any chance does the narrator in Daniel assume the parallelism of Hebrew poetry, the characteristic method of Isaiah. When we compare the part of Daniel which is most ornate with the part of Isaiah on a similar subject, the difference of treatment is evident. The description of Belshazzar's feast in the fifth chapter of Daniel may be regarded as much a rebuke of idolatry and its folly as Isa. xliv. 6–20. In Daniel we have the young king flushed with wine and proud in his surrounding of nobles and lords, excited by the bright eyes of the wives and the concubines looking on the scene. He commands the golden vessels of the house of the Lord from Zion to be brought, that he may drink wine from them; and he, his nobles, his wives, his concubines, drank from them. Then "they praised their gods of gold, of silver, of brass, of iron, of wood, and of stone." The blasphemy, the madness of the scene, is all put before us with the most telling power. The awful calmness of the narrative adds to its terrific force. When it goes on to tell how the finger of a hand came out of the void and wrote, the reader sees the king's terror, of which the writer tells; sees the turmoil of the interrupted feast, of which the writer has not a

word. The stately queen-mother, the daughter of Nebuchadnezzar, comes in and gives counsel that Daniel be sent for. Then Daniel, with all the dignity of the ambassador of Jehovah and all the solemnity of a judge, reads the writing upon the wall; brushing away as valueless the rewards of the king, he tells him his doom. Belshazzar, king to the last, will not bate one jot of his promised reward because of the nature of the interpretation Daniel has given, or of his contempt for the dignities he has to bestow. Undismayed by the prospect of dethronement and death, "Belshazzar commanded to clothe Daniel with purple and put a chain of gold about his neck, and make proclamation concerning him, that he should be the third ruler of the kingdom." After this, it is almost with sadness we read, "in that night was Belshazzar king of the Chaldeans slain." In this narrative, feeling is only shown by the choice of the objects of description—the narrator seems almost awful in his impassivity. At the same time, there is nothing in the message which indicates that in writing this the seer is the messenger of Jehovah. What he sees he describes, that is all.

When we turn to the prophecy of Isaiah we find, first of all, that instead of being in a written style, it suggests speech with attendant accessories of tone and gesture. The prophet is pre-eminently a messenger of Jehovah; the burden of the Lord is upon him, and his tidings are delivered with "thus saith the Lord." Acting as the messenger, the mouthpiece, so to say, of Jehovah, he declares "the glory of the Lord," that "beside Him there is no God." Then he looks into a

workshop where they are *making gods.* He shows the utter folly of the whole process by implying more than describing. There the smith by the forge is beating the iron to a white heat, turning with the tongs and fashioning with the hammer till a sharp tool is made, axe or chisel. A weak mortal like his neighbours, that must eat and drink or he will die, is making that which will make a god. Another scene is presented to us—a carpenter is marking off the drawing of the god according to which he is to work. Then we see him shouldering his axe; away to the forest he goes and chooses a tree to suit his purpose, cuts it down and brings it home, and then working with chisel and hatchet he forms an image, a god, and falls down and worships it. And then from the fragments that are left he makes him a fire and cooks, roasts flesh and eats. With part of that from which he has just made his *god*, from whom he shall ask help in prayer, with part of that same material he actually makes a fire to warm himself and to cook his victuals. Here the sarcasm is prominent through every picture. He imagines us, his hearers, looking at the man whom he sees and makes remarks upon; but the while he does not describe. He rather assumes that we, too, are peering through the doors at the workmen. These two modes of composition, the prophetic and the apocalyptic, are as widely distinct from each other, on a merely literary ground, as is the novel of the present day distinct from the drama of the days of Elizabeth. In this statement, of course, we refer merely to the literary envelope which enwrapped the message of revelation.

We shall probably bring out more clearly what we mean if we take a prophecy of Isaiah and show, though with all reverence and humility, the difference of the method that would have been followed had the writer been Daniel. When Isaiah says, "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth good tidings!" we at once feel this is prophetic; there is a picture implied but not described; the feelings that it arouses find expression, but the scene is merely assumed. Had an apocalyptist had such a vision he would have begun somewhat thus: "Behold, I had a vision, and in my vision I saw great mountains, and they were round about Jerusalem; and, lo! the people were altogether gone to the house-tops to gaze on the mountains; and behold, as I looked I saw one like a Son of man coming over the mountains, and he was all glorious in his apparel." We feel how much weaker a vehicle this is than that. We might take Isa. xiii. and xiv. as the companion picture in another aspect of the subject to Belshazzar's feast; yet apocalyptic is not at its strength in such limited incidents. While we could imagine Isaiah translating into song Daniel's vision of the monster that came out of the sea, yet we could not imagine such a vehicle conveying as intelligible an idea of the course of future history as does the simple, somewhat arid description which we have in Dan. vii.

Having thus seen that Apocalypse is distinct from prophecy, let us look a little more closely at the peculiarities of the former. One characteristic that is specially observable, if we take Daniel as our representative of Apocalypse, is the breadth of view

implied. It is not the fate of one man, even of a monarch, that comes within the scope of the apocalyptist, it is widespread world empires. Thus alike in Nebuchadnezzar's vision of the golden-headed statue and Daniel's own vision of the four beasts coming out of the sea, we see the whole course of human history laid bare before us. When we turn to the Book of Revelation we see the same thing. The book with its seven seals, each of which, when opened, reveals a new picture, also lays open the whole course of history.

In Daniel, if the traditional interpretation is to be believed,—and for our part we believe it,—we have represented to us the successive world empires from the Babylonian to the Roman, and to the yet lower kingdoms that, following the last, have been manifested as the earth. And this evolution shall go on until the end, when the kingdom of heaven shall come in its power. In like manner, in the Book of Revelation we have the whole course of history portrayed, if some interpreters are correct,[1] through the Holy Roman empire, the revolutionary period, the commercial period until the socialistic period comes, and with it the break down of all monarchical or indeed of all civil authority together. In each of these cases human history is summed up as a totality, whether correctly or not.

If we turn to the Book of Enoch as the best known of the uncanonical Apocalypses, we find the whole history of the people of God carried down from the days of Adam to those of Judas Macca-

[1] Bonnar, *The Great Interregnum.*

bæus, or, as some think, to those of Hadrian; and then it appears the writer expects the history of the world to come to an end. He places the last judgment immediately after the days of Judas Maccabæus. So of the others. The Assumption of Moses is equally far-reaching in its scope. It traces the course of universal history, and terminates it a little after the hoped for deposition of the sons of Herod the Great. The Ascension of Isaiah, after carrying history down to the coming of the matricide emperor, shows him destroyed by the second appearance of our Lord. We need not examine any more, as those considered are sufficient for our purpose.

For this evolution of a new form of prophecy there must be a reason, and it does not seem far to seek. With the Babylonian captivity, Israel was brought into contact with the world in a geographical sense much more extended than ever before. That very extension of the view of the world in space increased their idea of the time involved in the Divine plans. As when by astronomy, and the astronomical use of the telescope, the universe was seen to be much vaster than before had been dreamed, men began to feel that centuries and even millennia, were really very short spaces of time after all. So from Babylon, a centre of an empire that on one side looked out on Cyprus with its Greek culture, and on the other perhaps came in contact with India, the world was bigger and the destinies involved more important than all that could be seen from the mountain fortress of Jerusalem.

Still more was this the case when the Babylonian

gave place to the yet more extended empire of Media and Persia. The empire of Cyrus stretched from the Ægean to the east of Persia, north to the Oxus, and south to the Persian Gulf. The empire of Darius Hystaspis was yet more extensive, containing Egypt, India to the Punjaub, and Thrace in Europe. This gave a yet wider vision of possible futurity. But when by the defeats inflicted on Antiochus the Great and the checks inflicted on Epiphanes, the city seated on the Tiber became recognised as imperial, a vaster sweep was given to apocalyptic vision. The other empires had merely abutted on the great sea; it alone surrounded it, and made it a Roman lake. It stretched from the pillars of Hercules on the west to beyond the river Euphrates on the east, including at once the western Tarshish and the eastern Havilah.

Indirectly, this extended geographical horizon tended to give broader views in other ways. Although in one direction Judaism became more exclusive when Ezra returned from the captivity, yet in thought the Jews became broadened immensely. Although Zoroastrianism had many points of resemblance to Judaism, yet it did not affect it so much as Hellenism did. It certainly served to strengthen the Jews in their monotheism that the ruling power was monotheistic; but save in the matter of angelology, Persia did comparatively little for the development of Judaism on the positive side. On the negative side it was more productive by breaking down the intellectual barriers that separated the Jews from their neighbours. Hebrew, their native tongue, more and more gave place to Aramaic, the language of commerce and of diplomacy.

But to the Jew contact with Hellenism was the opening of a new world. We have seen how the conquests of Alexander impressed the stamp of Hellenism on Asia. It seemed as if Asia had been waiting for the conquerors. There had been preparatives in the use of Greek mercenaries and of Greek physicians, but these had merely acted as preparatives. It was the empire of Alexander and of the Diadochi that really opened the mines of Hellenic thought to the Eastern world. Syria became Hellenic, Egypt became Hellenic; indeed they became in some respects more Hellenic than Greece itself. Surrounded with Greek influences, it was impossible but that Judea should be Hellenised. This process went to such a length that men became ashamed of their old national significant names, and chose for themselves either similarly sounding Greek names, or names that in Greek had significations similar to those of their own old Hebrew names. In some cases the connection seems purely arbitrary.

Greek habit, Greek thought, and even Greek worship spread among the people with the Hellenised names. But more, the habit of travel was induced by the spread of the empire. Although the Persian empire was large, yet, from the habit of the people, travel was not so much suggested. Most of the travelling done in the Persian empire seems to have been done by Greeks like Herodotus and Hecatæus. The Jews had thus under the Greek supremacy the opportunity of seeing many cities, and marking the manners of many men. But further, it was a broadened Hellenism with which they came in con-

tact. The old restricted Hellenism, that saw barbarians in every one who did not belong to the few small republics that formed the Amphictyonic league, had passed away with the conquests of Alexander the Great. Their internecine struggles and intrigues had disappeared, and the local dialects had given place to a common tongue, mainly Attic, but not purely so. The Greece that was thus spread was not the Greece of Herodotus or Thucydides, of Pindar or Aristophanes, of Pericles or Demosthenes; it was more the Greece of Plato and of Aristotle, more still the Greece of Zeno of the porch and of Epicurus of the garden. While these two latter philosophers seem to have impressed themselves most generally on the extended world now opened up to Greek culture, and the former of these most of all on the East, as may be seen by the number of teachers of that school who came from the far East; to the Jews, Platonism seems to have been the most fascinating form of Greek philosophy, if we may judge from the influence it had on Philo of Alexandria. There was very considerable intercourse between Egypt and Palestine during the time of the Lagid supremacy when the Pentateuch was translated into Greek. This makes a knowledge of Greek philosophy more probable. Above we have seen that an indication of this may be seen in our Lord's interview with the rich young man, when He demands, "Why askest thou me concerning the good?" (*περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ*). But this knowledge of philosophy compelled a broader view of life and of the Divine plan. Plato, with his profession of borrowing from Egyptians, Armenians, and other foreign races,

led his followers to feel that wisdom was not restricted to one favoured race. Hence it seems to us one natural result of the Hellenic supremacy and the spread of Hellenic thought was the prevalence of Apocalypse among the Palestinian Jews, and the preference manifested for it over the older form of prophecy.

One element prominent in apocalyptic writings is not derivable from Hellenic sources. The utmost that Plato (*Rep.* Bk. IV.) could imagine in the way of a perfect state was a limited republic, and its very limitation was to be an element in its perfection. It not only could not be conceived as being universal, but did it pass a certain size it would be unwieldy as incapable of unity of action. And this follows from the very nature of the autonomous city. All its citizens must be able to assemble together in *ekklesia*, in order to settle the course of action to be followed by the state. A monarchy starting from a more limited ideal, that of the family, was capable of more indefinite extension. Hence, that the ultimate kingdom should be one that should fill the whole earth was out of the region of Greek thought, yet quite conceivable to those whose ideal was a monarchy. But further, the whole notion of an ultimate ideal state is foreign to Greek speculation. Plato and Aristotle alike can only imagine a constant cycle of change, in which the better form of government gives place to the worse, and that in turn again to the better. The Jew, however, had inherited from the prophets the hope of a time when the mountain of the Lord's house should be raised above the hills, and should draw all nations unto it. Not merely is this

empire to be coextensive with the world, but it is to be eternal—the ultimate state.

Further, — an idea derived from the prophets, — it was to be ideally perfect morally. Isaiah had said there should be nothing to hurt or to defile in God's holy mountain. In the Book of Daniel this kingdom is to be the possession of the saints, and by inference it might be declared that it would be the abode of righteousness. In the Book of Enoch this is distinctly stated, chap. x. 21: "And all the children of men shall become just, and all the nations shall worship me as God. 22. And the earth will be cleansed of all corruption, and all sin, and all punishment, and all torment." It must be confessed that often this kingdom of heaven is supposed to be merely for the glorification of the children of Israel. As in the Assumptio Moysis it is said, "Then thou, Israel, shalt be happy, and shalt ascend upon the necks and wings of eagles. And God shall exalt thee, and shall place thee in the heavens of the stars; and thou shalt look from the height, and thou shalt see thine enemies on the earth, and thou shalt recognise them, and wilt rejoice and give thanks, and shalt confess thy Creator." Sometimes the more physical side has also a prominence given to it which seems, if taken literally, to be undue. For this, too, the apocalyptists had the example of the prophets, especially of Isaiah, to justify them in the course they followed; thus chap. lx. 5: "The abundance of the sea shall be turned unto thee, the wealth of the nations shall come unto thee. 9. Surely the isles shall wait for me, and the ships of Tarshish first, to bring thy sons from far, their silver and their gold with them;

for the name of the Lord thy God, and for the Holy One of Israel, because He hath glorified thee. 17. For brass I will bring gold; and for iron I will bring silver; and for wood, brass; and for stones, iron." In this case these tokens of physical prosperity are obviously symbols of spiritual glory and prosperity; for not only is the climax of this wealth and grandeur found in the promise, "and thy people shall be all righteous," but to make yet more clear the symbolic poetic nature of the whole picture Jehovah says, ver. 17: "I will also make thine officers peace and thine exactors righteousness; 18. thou shalt call thy walls salvation, and thy gates praise. 19. The sun shall also no more be thy light by day, neither for brightness shall the moon give light unto thee; but the Lord shall be unto thee an everlasting light, and thy God thy glory."

When we pass to the Book of Enoch we feel that we have descended to a distinctly lower plane, though still the symbolic view is present; and indeed one might even defend the idea that it is all symbolism.[1] x. 18: "In those days shall the whole earth be worked in justice, and will all be planted with trees, and will be full of blessings. 19. And all the trees of desire will be planted on it, and vines will be planted on it; and the vine planted on it will bear fruit in abundance. And of all the seed sown on it, one measure will bear ten thousand, and one measure of olives will make ten presses of oil." In the Apocalypse of Baruch (chap. xxix.) the physical delights of the millennial time are presented with even less show of having a symbolic reference to spiritual benefits to

[1] Schödde's transl. p. 71.

be then enjoyed. There is peculiar interest in the passage in Baruch, because Papias quotes the saying as by our Lord Himself: "In one vine shall be a thousand branches, and every branch shall bear a thousand clusters, and each cluster shall have a thousand grapes, and one grape shall produce a *cor* of wine." In immediate connection with this we have the Jewish fable of Behemoth and Leviathan, "which" in this chapter God says, "I created on the fifth day of creation, and reserved them for that time; these shall be for food for all who shall remain." "And those who were an hungered shall rejoice, and again shall they see wonders daily." "And at that time shall the treasure of manna again descend from above; and they shall eat from that in those years, because these are they who have come to the end of time."

One easily sees the occasion of the prominence given to the glories of the millennial times in the degradation that fell on Israel in the days of the Persian supremacy, and yet more in the succeeding ages of the Macedonian rule, whether under the Lagid or the Seleucid princes. In the writings of the period of the return from captivity there is the pervading sense of poverty and straits; they are always hindered through the act of this governor or the jealousy of that. From this period of sordid care and mean difficulties, when Israel, that under David had borne rule from the great sea even to the River Euphrates, was hampered and hemmed in on every side, the land, denuded of inhabitants by successive invasions, was devastated and impoverished, and the poverty of the poor was deep. Then it was but natural that the

apocalyptist should take refuge in the future, and make that future the complement of the present, supplying all that was lacking in it. Instead of a period of poverty this is to be a period of inordinate plenty, when the ground should bring forth superabundantly. Instead of Israel, and especially Judah, being in a condition of humiliation, trampled under the feet of the satraps of heathen kings or the governors of the Roman power, they were to rule over all nations.

One side of their visions of this future time we have not yet adverted to, and one that most obviously springs from their actual degradation under a foreign power: many of the prophecies of these Apocalypses represent the Jews as exulting over the fate of their foes. Thus in the Apocalypse of Baruch, chap. lxxii. 6: "But all those who ruled you, or knew you, even they shall be delivered over to the sword." The apocalyptists took advantage of their power of imagination and constructed a future, when the people of Israel would be able to take full vengeance on all their enemies.

By way of contrast and comparison one must place the great Christian Apocalypse. In it the ideal—the millennium—is merely referred to as to come. The only element in the felicity of that time that the apostle thinks worthy of being noticed, is the fact that Satan will be bound throughout that whole period. The saints certainly are represented as exulting and singing "halleluia" over the overthrow of Babylon. It is almost terrible to read how, after this halleluia, "her smoke rose up for ever and ever," and after this again a renewed "halleluia." One marked

contrast is, that while the earlier apocalyptists have a doubt whether this millennium shall precede or follow the last judgment, the Apostle John has no doubt in the matter. All that he says in regard to the bliss of the time of the days of the millennium is simply that Satan should be bound, as we have said; further, that the saints are to live and reign with Christ a thousand years. Then at the expiry of the thousand years Satan is to be loosed. After he has deceived the nations comes the battle of Armageddon, and then after all the horrors of that battle comes the appearance of the Son of man to judgment, and the setting up of the great white throne. Then follows the descent from heaven of the New Jerusalem, and the description of all its glories. The apostle makes thus a clear distinction between the coming of Christ to reign on the earth and His coming to judgment. This growing apprehension of difference in time between two events, both future, is one of the characteristics observable in prophecy at all times. Indeed, the coming of the Messiah to suffer, to reign, and to judge are identified, or at all events not distinguished, in the earlier prophets; as in Isa. liii., where the account of the sufferings of the Messiah concludes, without any marked or appreciable interval of time, with the statement that He should "see His seed and prolong His days, and the pleasure of the Lord should prosper in His hand."

Another subject which is suggested by the point we have just reached is the Messianic character of the Apocalyptic books. Throughout the whole Old Testament there is the presence of this Messianic

hope, from the promise in the garden and, associated with Judah, from Jacob's blessing and prophecy that the sceptre should not depart from Judah "till Shiloh come," till the last words of Malachi. Even after Jerusalem had fallen before the Romans this hope has continued in the hopes of the Rabbins till almost the present day. It is a hope that was in most cases closely united with the coming ideal kingdom—the king of that coming kingdom was to be the anointed son of David. David was "never to want a man to sit on his throne" (Jer. xxxiii. 17), the branch of David (Jer. xxiii. 5). Sometimes David himself was promised to be the king; the people of Israel were "to seek the Lord their God, and David their king" (Hos. iii. 5). Isaiah adds the strange element of suffering of which the Messiah is to have a superabundant share before the ideal kingdom can be attained. Into the inheritance of the prophets the apocalyptists entered, and in Daniel we find "one like a son of man" (כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ) coming in the clouds of heaven to judge the world, to whom a universal and eternal dominion is to be given. Dr. Drummond asserts that this has no Messianic reference. It seems difficult to imagine the grounds of this assertion. This "one like a son of man" is, if not the Messiah the anointed of the Lord, at all events one to whom the Ancient of Days gives royal and universal dominion, such as is ascribed to the Messiah. If there is nothing about His being "anointed," His practical kingship is asserted. By implication here this ruler is not man, but a supernatural being who assumes human form. These world empires gave a breadth to this conception of the

Messiah's kingdom that intensified their desire for it, and their realisation of it in imagination.

Angelology was a subject specially dear to the apocalyptists as distinct from the prophets. In the earlier prophets angels are not introduced at all as instruments of revealing the will of God. In fact, the word מַלְאָךְ only occurs thrice in exilic or pre-exilic prophecy, and in two of these cases it is of a theophany that the prophet speaks (Hos. xii. 4; Isa. lxiii. 9), and the remaining case is in the historical portion of Isaiah (xxxvii. 36), concerning the destruction of Sennacherib. Certainly, in Isa. vi., we have an account of the seraphim, and in Ezekiel repeated accounts of the cherubim, but we have no right to identify these with the angels. Even though we should do so, yet the function these beings fulfil, if they are really separate independent beings at all, is not that of revealing the message of God to the prophets, but of enhancing the glory of the Divine manifestation. The word of the Lord comes to the prophet without any intermediary; among the apocalyptists, again, the message is frequently brought by an angel to the seer.

In Daniel, the earliest of the apocalyptists, it is Gabriel who is commissioned to reveal to him the things that are about to come to pass. In the Apocalypse of John we find the apostle has always an angel beside him to explain to him the meaning of the vision he sees. The angelology of the Book of Enoch is very extensive and complex. The revelations of the Book of Jubilees are also made by angelic agency. The prominence given to angels by the apocalyptists will be made clear when we consider them separately.

Although a belief in angels was part of the faith of Israel before the captivity, it became much more defined afterwards. It has been usual to recognise in this the influence of Zoroastrianism. The alleged discovery that Cyrus was not a Zoroastrian, however, militates against this. It seems somewhat hasty to come to the conclusion that Cyrus was an idolater, because in his proclamation to the Babylonians he assumes the *rôle* of a worshipper of their national gods. He seems to have got possession of Babylon by a conspiracy of priests and nobles, and hence was obliged to appear as the worshipper of the national gods of Babylon. Napoleon assumed the tone of a Mohammedan when he took possession of Egypt. More nearly a contemporary of Cyrus, we find Sennacherib claiming that it is in obedience to the command of Jehovah he comes against Jerusalem. It seems natural to think that the theology of Persia would have an effect on the Jews. Contact with the idolatry of Babylon might, however, have a tendency to develop a doctrine of a hierarchy of holy spirits. There was an elaborate hierarchy of gods, whom they recognised as evil beings; over against these it was not unnatural that they should elaborate an opposing hierarchy of spirits, who would defend the worshippers of Jehovah from the power of these gods of the nations.

Between two markedly distinct claims in nature there are often transitional classes that unite the characteristics of both the others; thus birds and mammalia are in nature as distinct from each other as classes can well be, yet between these two is the

paradoxical ornithorhynchus in which the characteristics of both classes are mingled. We have seen how distinct prophecy and apocalypse are, yet between these two are the opening chapters of the prophecies of Zechariah. In these chapters we have many characteristics of Apocalypse mingled with those that are peculiarly prophetic. To Zechariah, all revelations are made by the angel "that talked with him." Frequently he tells us his visions in the manner of the apocalyptist; yet, on the other hand, there are frequent references to his message as direct from God, "thus saith the Lord," and at times there are bursts of song that remind us of Isaiah and the earlier prophets. Had we the prophecy of Haggai in a complete form, instead of what seems to be merely the headings of his prophecies, we should probably have had another example of this transitional form of prophecy. This transitional form is itself prepared for by the prophecies of Ezekiel. If we accept the traditional date of Daniel, this state of transition is quite intelligible. It would naturally be some time before a startling innovation in the method of prophecy would be accepted by the prophetic schools, yet it would not be without its effect; hence the transitional forms like those of Zechariah's opening chapters.

CHAPTER II.

THE HOME OF APOCALYPTIC.

THERE are few more desolate places in the whole world than the immediate shore of the Dead Sea. Save at special spots, the whole shore is lifeless, with huge blocks of salt standing up square and pitiless from the sand; it is all sad, hopeless, and dead. Not that the sea itself is always sullen or leaden; sometimes its contrast to its surroundings is almost startling. Its surface, gleaming like emerald in the sunlight, may give it a look of beauty; wavelets even may laugh on its surface, and chase each other to the shore, moved by the breeze that is sucked down by the heat, and may give it a look of life—but it is dead. The waters are edged round with a glittering incrustation that is the very frost of death. The heat round the lake is oppressive, even when a breath of wind does agitate the air that stagnates in this the deepest depression on the earth's surface. Nothing lives in the lake save at the very mouth of some of the streams that come down from the hills; nor wherever its unhallowed waters come can there be life. Rising around it are bare and castellated cliffs of limestone that, by their height, give some idea of the depth of the depression. These cliffs in the fierce sunlight glare in orange and tawny yellow, but every here and

there the bright coloured rock gives place to crags of black basalt and trap. The harshness of the contrast gives the whole scene a weird aspect. Brooding over the scene are strange memories from sacred history, and strange legends, the product of Arab fancy. Somewhere beneath those silent waters sleep, according to common belief, the ruins of the cities of the plain, which God overthrew. Somewhere on the waste rises a melancholy pillar of salt — the monument and winding-sheet of Lot's wife. Eye may never have seen it, but firmly is its existence believed in, and towering pillars of limestone have been identified with that weird story. Strange tales of the exhalations from this mysterious lake causing death mingle with the sad facts of history—that of prisons with dungeons dark with tragedies.

It is not, however, all death and desolation. The sky sends down rain; and that rain falling on the mountains, and taken into their bosoms, is given forth in streams. Wherever the healing waters of those streams come there is fertility and beauty. Down those bald white cliffs descend ravines, and in winter through those ravines rush torrents which, though their courses are nearly dry in summer, carry healing with them. From the mouth of those ravines the ground slopes gradually to the mysterious lake, and on this slope tropical plants flourish in tropical beauty and luxuriance. Even in these streams the element of mystery is not wanting; they all, or almost all, spring from fountains of warm water. This warmth tells of central fires that may now be beneficent, but may anon be kindled into fierceness of destroying

heat should a mission of judgment be entrusted to them. But the warmth adds to the tropical luxuriance of those dells. These fountains had healing virtues ascribed to them, as Josephus tells; to one of these, that called Callirrhoe, Herod betook himself in his last illness. Near Engedi, too, where was another of those healing streams, grew balsam, whose medicinal properties are told us by Josephus.

In olden days Engedi must have been much more beautiful than now. It still is beautiful, with its fertile strip of ground, its streams shining and clear unless when in mid-summer the thirsty soil drinks them all in, and its luxuriant vegetation. In all it is about a mile and a half from north to south, and slopes gently down from the mountains that rise up towards Hebron to the edge of the sea. It is formed by the confluence of two "Wadys" or streams with the ravines cut by them. The streams in this case are perennial, though lost in the sand during the dry season. Well up on the face of the sloping hill between these two ravines rises the *Ain Jidy*, the fountain of the kid, which gives its name to the place. It gushes out, leaps, and gambols down to the sea a perennial stream—a line of white foam that sparkles in the sunlight. Like most of the fountains in the neighbourhood, it is a warm spring, though not hot, and so promotes the tropical luxuriance around. Engedi is now absolutely void of permanent inhabitants,—the shifting tent-living Arabs cannot be reckoned in that category,—but there are traces of an abundant population in long past times. There are the remains of terraces on which, in the days of the Hasmonæans

and the Herodians, luxuriant vines were trained. If there is now not a single palm-tree to justify the old name Hazazon Tamar, there are petrified by the water, which is impregnated with lime, numerous fronds of the palm. Numerous cisterns are found all over the face of the slope with conduits reaching up the "Wadys" evidently for the irrigation of the gardens that had bloomed here in those old days.

Not only is it beautiful from its luxuriant vegetation, but it is relatively cool. Not only does green luxuriance contrast with the barrenness all around, but also the comparative moderateness of the temperature makes it a more pleasant abode than almost any other place in that sultry region. The richly oxygenated air has an exhilarating effect on the system, affording capacity for physical exertion unwonted in so hot a climate. The very weight of air itself gives a physical buoyancy that reacts on the spirits. Such is the home of apocalyptic as it is now. But in old days its vineyards were famous, for Solomon mentions them in his Song of Songs. Interspersed with the vineyards were groves of fragrant *henna*, called camphire in our Authorised Version. Towering around were the palms from which the place got its other name of Hazazon Tamar, "the pruning of the palms." Josephus, too, tells us how the palm groves beautified this spot among the scene of surrounding desolation.

From it the spectator has a striking view of the Salt Sea and its surroundings. Across the green waters rise the mountains of Moab, with threatening precipices that go sheer down into the depth of the

sea. Up the lake the eye can see the gorge of the Jordan and the flat plain of Siddim; but rising over it is the range of Abarim, one of the peaks of which was Pisgah, from which Moses had his first, last look at the land promised to his fathers, and for the possession of which he had led the people of Israel all these forty years of the wilderness journey. Somewhere there, in those deep gorges that seem black by contrast of the brilliant sunlight which beats upon the bright rocks around, is the secret tomb of Moses, the man of God. And from these mountains, too, ascended to heaven another man of God. There Elijah, having cleft the waters of the Jordan with his mantle, mounted those heights, and then, swept away in a fiery chariot, was borne up to the presence of God. Beyond these mountains, too, had been the terrible sacrifice of Mesha king of Moab, when Jehoram king of Israel and Jehoshaphat king of Judah, with the king of Edom, came against him. All these memories clung to those mysterious mountains. The masses of black basalt that break in upon the orange coloured limestone seem the very embodiment of the mystery that hangs around these mountains.

Memory colours imagination, and solitude quickens in this spot of bright beauty. By this *Ain G'di*, "the well of the kid," did there dwell for many generations a mysterious race of solitaries—in this region suited at once for solitude and for mystery. They were solitary at least in this, that they separated themselves from all other race and sects, and lived apart from civil society. Denying themselves the business of every-day life, they supported themselves by agriculture of a

simple sort. Their mode of life was simplicity itself, every comfort was shunned, much more every luxury, as if it were a sin. They observed the law of Moses with great exactness, save in some particulars which are to be noted; they avoided bloody sacrifices, and what sacrifices they allowed they did not offer in the temple. They had priests of their own, who presided at the simple meals they had in common, *and led their devotions.*

While they reverenced the law, they did not, as did the scribes, restrict themselves to the canonical books; for they had visions of their own which they noted down, and secret sacred books which they cherished. Solitaries dwelling at the side of the Dead Sea were the very people to have strange apocalyptic visions. The very absorption in their own states of feeling,—the natural result of the solitude in which they lived,—in which there was nothing to show the true perspective of things, and above all the contrast of fact and fancy, made their minds peculiarly ready to assume any delusion to be true. And that strange sluggish sea, and those sombre mountains, with their mysterious memories, were specially fitted to give these delusions an apocalyptic colour. Let us picture a day at Engedi, and give its history. When the clear sky over the mountains of Moab had begun to assume a faintly silver tone, softening down the blue of the night, the community was awakened possibly by the weird sound of the ram's horn trumpet. After a baptismal bath has consecrated them for the service of the day, they stand before their small flat-roofed houses and wait for the dawn. The sky to the east is all covered with

a flush of pink, and the gleam from the sky falls upon the faces of the worshippers who stand with their faces towards the sunrise and their backs towards Jerusalem, with its temple polluted by unholy priests who offered unworthy offerings on the altar, and lights up with a rosy tint the white cottages that peep from among the vineyards and oliveyards of Engedi, and the white garments of the waiting brethren. The morning breeze, precursor of the dawn, tosses the great leaves of the palms that sway gracefully over Hazazon Tamar. Then as the first dazzling gleam is seen above the heights opposite, from all the row of worshippers who are standing with mantles over their heads rises a hymn to God who has caused morning to arise upon the earth. Then the brethren disperse to their various labours; one shouldering his mattock goes to break up the clods of the field; another with pruning knife, it may be, goes to the groves of fragrant *henna;* yet another retires into his cell to further some indoor work for the benefit of the community. The sun becomes high in the heaven, work is no longer possible, and once more the brethren assemble and slowly—their robes girt about them again after being laid aside for their second lustral bath—they defile into the large upper chamber where their simple mid-day meal is eaten. While they rest during the heat of the day, the reader takes one of their sacred books and reads to the listening brethren. After he has finished, another, possibly the chief of the community, expounds.

When the afternoon is still warm, about two as we reckon, they resume their labours, and continue until the sun has sunk in golden glory behind the hills of

Judah, gilding, it may be, with its farewell rays the mountains that are round about Jerusalem. While the bright stars are beginning to rush out from the ever deepening blue of the sky, the brethren may be seen returning to their cells from, it may be, labouring as hired servants to rich men around. After again a delay for the sacred ablution, they assemble in their refectory. Those who had been labouring as hirelings deposit their earnings in the hand of the chief of their brotherhood. They all recline on the rough benches round the wall. A simple prayer is offered and a hymn sung, and then the ministers enter, bearing each a dish, one for each member. These ministers pass round and set before the members each his dish. This meal is a sacrifice; it is prepared at the time when the priest at Jerusalem slays the evening sacrifice; and these priests, whose duty it was to see the meal prepared, solemnly bless it and the worshipping brethren. After the meal, once more are these Sacred Scriptures read and expounded, and then the assembly breaks up; each member of the community retires to his cell for work, for reading, for meditation and prayer, and then the twinkling lights one after one go out. The moon in a cloudless heaven shines down upon a silence that is only broken by the yelping howl of the jackal, the bleating of the sheep from the folds, and—if it is not mid-summer — the rush of the Sudeir down the rocks.

While we say of these Essenes—for it is of them we speak—that they were solitaries, we ought to mention that this was only true of the main body; they had houses dispersed over the whole land of Palestine,

where any travelling brother of the order might be entertained in the simple fashion they permitted themselves. Indeed, Josephus says they were "many in every city." They appear on the scene of public events as recorded by Josephus, and disappear from it with the unaccountableness of Elijah, whose translation from the opposite mountain will be prone to come into their thoughts when with the central society. Like him, they intervened in politics at times, and did so with force, but only for a moment.

From this solitary place of observation the central society kept itself informed of the progress of events; and they must have watched at times with eager interest the changes that passed over men as dynasty after dynasty rose and toppled and fell. True, new generations arose, each succeeding the other; new members came in wearied with life, or taken as children grew up among them; but the spell once on them they grew into the traditions of the sect till the whole community assumed a solidarity which is only seen in such monastic orders as the Jesuits. To an outside spectator these Essenes seem like one person: they appear and declare approaching judgment or dignity, and then disappear, unlike the fussing Pharisees and diplomatic Sadducees. Their very reticence inspires awe.

Among the books of the canon one book was especially to their taste—the Book of Daniel. The strange tales of empires rising and falling it related in its mysterious symbolism, and the fuller angelology it implied, all were fitted to affect a community like that of the Essenes. The interpretation of the symbols and numbers

of Daniel would occupy them, as later they occupied the monks of the Middle Ages. What were the monarchies that were one after another to dominate the Holy Land? to what point had they now come in the evolution of history? The question was one that might well affect them. They had for more than a century been under Greek domination, mainly as represented by the Lagid princes of Egypt. These, on the whole, had treated the Jews with kindness, and given them a place in Egypt of equal rights with native born citizens of the country. Sacrifices were offered in the temple in the name of each successive Ptolemy. Meantime the progress of change had been rapid. The very kindness with which, on the whole, they had been treated, had made the Jewish people look without their usual hatred of idolatry at the graceful heathenism of Greece. From gazing without reprobation to gazing with admiration was an easy step when the attractive power of Greek art aided the advance. From admiration to imitation the descent was as easy, the more so, that in a Hellenic state Hellenic manners always gave alike civil and social advantage. All throughout Palestine was this process going on, accelerated by the number of Hellenic cities that had sprung up and had received autonomy. To be received into citizenship in these cities was advantageous; to be so received practically implied a certain amount of Hellenisation.

In Jerusalem itself the influence of Greek life was already becoming marked. The old Jewish Hebrew names, with their sacred associations, were giving place to Greek names, which had either a somewhat similar sense or sound. Even high priests were called Menelaus

and Alkimus rather than Joseph or Jaddua, names that sufficed their fathers. The Palæstra was instituted, and youths, out of shame lest their religion might be recognised, put themselves under painful surgical treatment to erase the mark of circumcision. It was a period that seemed to portend universal national apostasy. Along with this, and closely connected with it, were the extravagances resulting from the new luxurious habits and the artistic acquirements of the new civilisation; and this, as a natural consequence, produced the oppression of the poor by the rich.

Outside the circle of Judaism signs of change were manifesting themselves. Young Antiochus, the son of Seleucus Callinicus, had succeeded his brother Seleucus Ceraunus. Unlike those monarchs, Antiochus was energetic; and if not a military genius, was yet a man of very considerable military talent. The Parthians had rebelled against his father, and Arsaces, their leader, had inflicted a disastrous defeat on Callinicus, his brother. Rumours of those disasters must have reached Palestine, and even pierced the solitary habitation of the Essenes. Again, with the early manhood of Antiochus, there were reports of disturbances on the banks of the Euphrates. Away to the East flew the young monarch, overthrew the revolt of the Medes, hurried west, dashed into Syria to drive Ptolemy Physcon out of Palestine. At first he was successful, but at length at Raphia he sustained a defeat, which left Palestine still in the hands of the Lagids. After a rest of a year or two again there were rumours of conflicts in the far east; again the Median provincials had risen, this time openly backed

by the Parthians, and secretly supported, it was supposed, by treasure from Egypt. Then came news of the young king being again triumphant over his eastern enemies; and the idea was rife that as, after his former victory in the east he had retraced his steps, he would again at once fall upon the Egyptian territory. As before Jerusalem had escaped without direct assault, so it was hoped it would happen now.

CHAPTER III.

THE ENOCH BOOKS.

WHEN the tidings we have just referred to were brought, they caused speculation among the recluses of the community at Engedi. One among them, probably old, and certainly affected by Greek physical speculations, is much moved by the intelligence as it comes. As he broods in his cell, it seems to him that a prophet earlier than Elijah, and even greater than he, is present with him in his cell, — a prophet who, like Elijah, had been translated, that he should not see death. He felt that these visions of nature in its inmost core that were revealed to him, and the denunciations of the evil of the world, really proceeded from Enoch, not from himself. Unnatural conditions of life produce unnatural forms of thought and perverted views of right and wrong, so that such strange hallucinations as those we speak of, far from being unnatural, become to this false unnatural condition really natural—the natural results of these conditions.

In the name, then, of Enoch was written the book of "the three parables," or rather pictures. Enoch tells how "a cloud and a whirlwind seized him from the face of the earth and carried him to the end of the heavens;" there he saw the dwellings of the just and

the abiding-places of the holy ones. While there he tells what he sees in this abiding-place of the saints, "under the wings of the Lord of spirits," and a great longing fell on him to be in this place; happy and peaceful as might be the glade of Engedi, and sweet the society of the brotherhood, this was far better. In comfort to his soul there was brought in the consolation that his portion was there. And as he thought of this, he breaks forth into a song of blessing and praise, and he calls upon all the angels to join him in his song of praise. And he heard the song of the watchers of heaven—"Blessed art Thou, O God, and blessed be the name of the Lord for ever." As he gazes he sees an immense multitude of spirits, "ten thousand times ten thousand, and thousands of thousands." In the midst of this is seen the glory of the Lord of spirits, and the awful glory shapes itself into four faces. From these four faces that shone out of the glory there came voices. The first praised the Lord of spirits, the second voice praised the Chosen One, the Messiah, the third was an entreating prayer for the saints of God upon the earth, and the fourth pealed forth in warning against the Satans, the accusers of the saints. And these four, he learned, had each names; the first was Michael, the merciful; the second was Rufael, the healer; the third was Gabriel, the mighty; the fourth Phanuel, who is over the penitence of those who shall inherit eternal life.[1] Next, all the secrets of the kingdom of heaven are shown him, and the weighing of all the deeds of men. All nature, too, is unveiled to him,—the pathway of the

[1] Schödde, pp. 112–115; Dillmann, p. 20; Laurence, p. 42.

stars and of the sun and the moon, and how through it all there is praise to the God of spirits. But in all these Wisdom did not find a place to dwell; she came to earth and found no rest among men, and so she returned to be with the angels again. This is the conclusion of the first parable.

In the second parable Enoch is still in the dwelling-place of the holy, but is shown the fate of those that will not obey. The main subject of this second parable is the judgment of all before the Chosen One, the Messiah. He sees in his vision the Ancient of Days, whose head was white as wool, and with Him was a second whose countenance was full of gentleness, who was like a man, and yet like one of the holy angels. Enoch asked who this was that thus went with the Ancient of Days, and he was told it was the Son of man "who hath righteousness, and all righteousness dwelleth with Him, and all secret treasures of hidden knowledge He revealeth, because the Lord of spirits hath chosen Him." Here appear the Messianic hopes, the cultivation of which was such a marked characteristic of the Essenes. It is no merely spiritual Messiah that the writer expects or imagines that Enoch reveals through him, but a warlike Messiah who will "arouse kings from their couches," will expel them "from their thrones and from their kingdoms because they do not exalt Him and praise Him, nor humbly acknowledge Him by whom the kingdom is given unto them. He will confound the countenance of the strong, and fill their faces with shame who lift their hands against the Most High, and tread down the earth whose deeds are all unrighteousness and

who manifest unrighteousness, whose power resteth in their riches."

It is to be observed that it is not persecuting monarchs he fears, but rich men "whose trust is in gods whom they have made with their own hands, and who have denied the name of the Lord of spirits." These are not heathen who are so by birth, for they could not be said to "deny" God's name, since they had never known Him. Further proof of this may be drawn from the fact that these people are "to be cast out of the houses of His congregation, the synagogues that is to say, and "out of the assemblies faithful that hang on the name of the Lord of spirits,"—congregations and assemblies into which the heathen never dreamed of entering.

His vision still continues, and he sees the throne set and the books opened, as we see in the Book of Daniel. Then comes a remarkable sentence: "Then the saints shall rejoice because the number of righteous ones is fulfilled, and the prayers of the just have been heard, and the blood of the Just One has been demanded before the Lord of spirits." This does not necessarily imply that the writer recognised that the Suffering One was also the Messiah who was crowned in the heavens. He knew from the prophecies of Isaiah that the Holy One was to be cut off, but he felt it difficult to reconcile this with the idea that was becoming growingly more distinct among his sect, that the Messiah, to fulfil all that was prophesied about Him and hoped from Him, must be, if not quite Divine, at least more than human. In the Talmud there is the theory of two Messiahs—one the son of

Joseph who shall suffer, the other the son of David who shall reign.

Beside the throne of judgment the writer "saw a fountain of righteousness, and around it many fountains of wisdom; and all the thirsty drank of them and were filled with wisdom, and had their dwelling with the righteous and the holy and the chosen ones." While he was gazing at this, "the Son of man was called before the Lord of spirits." Here the reference is to the Messiah; and the title given is one which, as we have already had occasion to show, our Lord regularly uses of Himself, not unlike in reference to the usage in the Essene school of which this book is a product. The natural interpretation of our Lord's use of the title is that He regarded it as equivalent to an assertion of Messiahship. It might not be so regarded by the Pharisaic school or the Sadducean; it would be enough if it were in accordance with the custom of the Essenes.

High honour is to be done to this Son of man: "All that live upon the earth shall fall down before Him, and shall bend the knee to Him."[1] This, however, is not all, the resurrection comes, when "the earth shall return that entrusted to it, and Sheol shall return that entrusted to it which it has received, and hell shall return again what it owes.[2] And He shall choose the just and holy from among them, for the day has come that they shall be saved. At this there is universal joy and jubilation. This joy is described in terms drawn from the Psalms; we are told of mountains skipping like rams, and hills like lambs.

[1] *Vide* Phil. ii. 10. [2] *Vide* Rev. xx. 13.

From this scene of joy Enoch is carried away by a whirlwind, and is brought to a region very different in character—away to the east were the mountains of Moab, with their mystery. But the writer had not always dwelt in Engedi; time was when he had stood on the mountains above Joppa, and looked away out across the great and wide sea. As he gazed he saw the grey clouds gathering—the portent of storm—around the gates of the west. But the sun descended towards them, and the clouds became transformed into mountains that glowed in metallic splendour; there was gold and silver, ruddy copper and black iron; at the edges there was the blue grey of dull lead, lighted up by sparkles that spoke of quicksilver. His fancy, taught by vision, constructs on the model of it the land to which he is brought.

As the evening rapidly deepens and the mountains disappear, in place of these golden mountains dark clouds, bearing in their bosom lightning, thunder, and whirlwind, quickly cover the sky. The roll of the thunder sounds like the careering wheels of weighty chariots rushing to battle. The lightning, that flashes from the cloud, seems the gleam of the armour of the warriors who man the chariots. It is the hosts of the Lord hurrying to battle. Some such vision as this he had seen from the mountain above Joppa. His imagination taught by this, on the remembrance of it in days long after it may be, constructed on the model of it the land to which he is now brought, and the events that happen. It is a land where he sees a group of six mountains, each composed of a different metal—one of iron, one of copper, one of silver, one

of gold, one of quicksilver,[1] and one of lead. These mountains are away to the west beyond the great sea, in the region of the setting sun. They are to vanish at the coming of the Messiah.

Near these mountains there appeared a vast open valley, into which all nations poured their gifts to the Messiah, yet it was not filled.

Another valley he saw lit up with lurid fire. This is the place of punishment. There is introduced here, somewhat inconsequentially, the prophecy of the Flood among the scenery of the last judgment. But this is quite in accordance with the ordinary usage in prophecy; the absolutely last things are brought into close juxtaposition with things in the immediate future. It is again in close proximity to this message concerning the Flood that Enoch tells of the angels of punishment going to stir up the kings of Media and Parthia—a conjunction that did not happen later than the days of Antiochus the Great. This parable concludes with a mysterious vision of "a host of chariots" borne on the wings of the wind, in which men were riding. The noise of the chariots was heard; the holy ones observed it, and the pillars of the earth were moved from their place, and the noise was heard from the ends of the earth to the end of the heavens; and with this final overthrow of the wicked the second similitude ends.

[1] I have followed here Hoffmann's rendering. Archbishop Laurence renders the word נחשבדא *naṭabṭâ*, which indicates the material of the fifth mountain by "*fluid metal*," and Dillmann by "*Tropfmetall*," Schödde by "*soft metal*." It is quite true that in lii. 6 this metal is represented as being melted as by heat; but we must not test the visions of the apocalyptists by our notions of accuracy. Something may be said for translating *naṭabṭâ*, "tin," as may be seen by referring to lii. 8.

The third similitude has come down to us in a fragmentary condition. It would seem that it was a vision of bliss that he intended to leave to his brethren, but either he died or his writing was damaged, so that—as has so often happened—the last leaf has been lost.

Another Enoch-book may be regarded as beginning with chap. xcii. The writer of the nucleus is impelled to map out the history of the world, but, at the same time, the oppression of the poor by the rich moves him to wrath. There in his cell he is prepared to denounce them. In his wanderings, it may be, he has seen this oppression, if it may not even be that the oppression of the rich has driven him to Engedi; but when he denounces them, he must do so, he feels, under figure of Enoch. So the seer, who had been in heaven and had read the tablets there, in the first place, relates to his children the history of the world in ten weeks. The first of these is occupied by the history up to his own time, and the rest by all history then future; the second week ends with the Flood; the third with the call of Abraham; the fourth week records the giving of the law to Moses, and the formation of the nations; the fifth week terminates with the dedication of the Solomonic temple; in the sixth week there is a compendious history of the Jewish nation down to the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar; the seventh week is the time when a rebellious race will arise, and many will be their deeds—all their deeds will be rebellious. In this the seer points to the Hellenisers among the Jews; but in the end a plant of wisdom is to spring up for them. This part of the vision seems certainly to have been written before the Maccabean

struggle. The coming of the Messiah proves the history of apocalyptists to have ended and the fancy to be beginning. In the eighth week judgment is to be executed on the heathen by the saints. The ninth week declares that righteousness shall be revealed to the whole world — a universalism utterly unlike the attitude assumed by the Pharisees. When the tenth week comes the final judgment takes place. It may be noted here that the judgment takes place after the coming of the Messiah has been long past.

After this vision of history, the seer proceeds to exhort his descendants to follow righteousness and truth. The sins of his time seem to be those of a relatively peaceful period; though a time of the oppression of the saints by the wealthy Hellenisers, they are exhorted not to fear, for their enemies will be destroyed before them. He denounces woes on the sinners with the fervency of one of the old prophets. "Woe to you, sinners, for your riches make you appear righteous, yet you are sinners. Woe to you who devour the marrow of the wheat and drink the power of the root[1] of the fountains,"—seize on the clearest water,—"and tread the lowly with violence under your feet! Woe to you who gain silver and gold without righteousness, yet say, 'We have become rich, we have treasure and possess everything we desire! And now we will do what we purpose, for we have gathered silver and our treasuries are full, and as water so many are the workmen of our houses.' Like water shall your lies float

[1] So Schödde and Dillmann; Laurence, "the strength of the deepest spring."

away, your wealth will not remain to you, ye shall be given once to a great condemnation."

Those whom the seer denounces with so much force seem to be fond of wealth and of gaudy apparel, but there is no distinct mention of idolatry as among their sins. It is difficult to decide, but it would seem to have been written about the time of the nucleus, before the addition of the Noachian fragments.

Inspired by the strange record left by this brother who regarded himself as the amanuensis of Enoch, another later brother assumed the name of Noah. It is somewhat uncertain whether there ever was a complete Noah-book or not. If there was, it must have been slavishly dependent on the Book of Enoch. It seems more probable that the second visionary brother, desirous of completing the work of his comrade, as he was unable to claim the inspiration of Enoch, feigned that he was the amanuensis of Noah, who in his youth had seen and talked with Methuselah, indeed, had been contemporary with him for nearly five centuries. Further, there is suggested that after his translation Enoch revealed to Noah what he saw in the heavenly places.

There is, however, a sad falling off in the Noachian fragments as compared with the original Book of Enoch. The fragment begins with a date, the five hundredth year of the life of Noah (by a mistake *Enoch* appears instead of Noah). Next he proceeds to give an account of the creation of Leviathan and Behemoth, very much after the fashion we have it in the Talmud and other Jewish tracts. It may be noted that Noah is under the impression that Enoch, not Methuselah, is his

grandfather. A great deal of time is spent in elaborate physical speculation, and functions are assigned to the angels in the physical world. The spirit of the sea is masculine and strong; the spirit of the hoar frost is his own angel; the spirit of hail is a good angel, who has left the spirit of snow on account of its strength. He is most excellent in his account of thunder and lightning. He tells us the treasury of flashes is like sand, and the spirit makes equal divisions between them. There are, it seems, places for the thunder to rest, and then it utters its voice and the flash is let out, "and the spirit causes a rest during the flash." There is a certain picturesque revelation here of what from their nest in Engedi the Essenes saw of thunderstorms. When thunderstorms break over the Dead Sea the re-echoing of peal upon peal, caught up now by one range of mountains now by another, would seem an almost ceaseless roar, and in the momentary brilliance of the flash, attention being directed to it, the thunder would be unheard. One striking passage in the Noachian fragment must not be omitted, in which the Messiah is spoken of, not as Son of man, but as "Son of woman," who is "sitting on the throne of His glory." There is greater complexity in the angelology of this Noachian fragment than in the genuine Book of Enoch. In Enoch angels are numerous, but not classified; in the Noachian fragment we have seraphim, cherubim, and ophanim, the last name being derived from the wheels in the prophecies of Ezekiel. This greater elaboration is a sign of a later period.

A Noachian fragment occurs at chap. cvi., to all appearance of a similar date to that we have been

considering. In the period of comparative peace fancy might go out to speculate on the birth of such an extraordinary person as Noah. This whole passage has more the aspect of Hagada than of apocalypse: it would thus seem to be the work of some Pharisee who had come over to the Essenes. The same mood of exaggeration is also found in the gospel of the infancy and such like documents of a period slightly later. Monastic writers have similar legends, due not impossibly to the fact that they lived under similar conditions.

After the Noachian additions were made to the Book of Enoch, stirring times ensued, the bruit of which pierced the solitudes of Engedi. When Antiochus the Great had died, he was succeeded by Seleucus Philopator, and he again by Antiochus Epiphanes his brother. Even more brilliant and talented than his father, he made war against Egypt, and seemed in a fair way to subdue it wholly, when envoys appeared from Rome and ordered him to desist on pain of war with the Republic. Enraged at this check to his victorious career, Antiochus returned homewards towards Syria. Whether it were policy—a desire to have a homogeneous empire should he have to confront the terrible Republic—or whether it were merely irritation, he entered Jerusalem with the determination, as it seemed, to Hellenise completely the Jewish nation. Sacrifices were offered to the Olympian Zeus in the Temple court, and men were compelled to defile themselves with unclean food. The most terrible persecution was set on foot to abolish Judaism. Instead of producing the effect intended, it roused the

nation to fury. The whole country was like a powder magazine, and it needed only the gallant act of Mattathias, the priest of Modin, to burst into a flame. When the Maccabean struggle began, the whole religious feeling of the country went with the patriots. It would seem not improbable that the Essenes, though usually peaceful, took to arms at this time and joined the Maccabeans. At all events, they must have watched the struggle with intense interest. The persecutor seems, if we may make what appears to be a reasonable deduction from the words of Philo, to have visited the Essenes with his persecution, after surrounding them with flatteries, probably suggested by the external resemblance they bore in belief to the Greek philosophic sects.

The struggle was a sublime one, and makes the blood stir within one, even at the end of more than twenty centuries, — Judas the Maccabean, with little more than three thousand men, overthrowing in battle after battle all the might of the Syrian monarchy, recapturing Jerusalem from the oppressors, and purifying the Temple. Ever as marvellous victory after marvellous victory was won in spite of all adverse chances, the feeling of hope seemed mingled with something almost akin to despair. It seemed impossible that this could last, or that the struggle could, by merely human means, be brought to a successful issue. The Messiah would surely appear to deliver His people.

Scenes of persecution have a tendency to produce seers. "The killing time," as it was called, in the days of the Scottish Covenanters produced Alexander

Peden. This "killing time" produced its prophet in the writer of the first and third portions of the Book of Enoch.[1] His relation to the nucleus of the book is much less slavish than that of the writer of the Noachian fragments. One may almost imagine that he, too, regarded himself as used as a pen by the spirit of the ancient patriarch. He is occupied with the angels and with the physical universe, much as is the author of the Noachian fragments; but the names of the angels are different, and the physical theories suggested are even more elaborate than those of the Noachian fragmentists.

The prophet of the Antiochian persecution begins with a general exordium, which in the course of proclaiming judgment on all sinners, intimates also that he, the seer, had all the secrets of nature unveiled to him. In the course of this exordium occurs the passage quoted in the Epistle of Jude. The physical portion appears to be an interruption of the course of solemn apocalyptic denunciation with which the seer begins. Not impossibly this exordium was written after the additions were made to the original nucleus, and the author, aware that these speculations were to occupy a good deal of space in his works, gives this intimation in the beginning as a preparation for what is coming.

After this general overture, to use a musical equivalent to exordium, the seer now proceeds historically. He proceeds to give an account of the fall of the angels, which he dates at the time preceding the Flood, when the sons of God loved the daughters of men. In preparation for the satisfaction of their love, a large

number of the angels "left their own place," as Jude says, and came to Ardis, which was called, on account of the oath they swore to each other, Hermon, from the Hebrew חֶרֶם, a curse. Next followed the birth of the giants, and the increase of sin in the world; for the angels taught men astrology and the manufacture of weapons of war, and the art of making and using cosmetics. At this point the holy ones, Michael, Gabriel, Surjân, and Urjân looked down upon the earth; they call to the other angels concerning the evil wrought upon the earth. In answer to the call of the four, the angelic host raises a song that is also a prayer to the Most High. In answer, the Almighty sends forth Rufael to heal the earth, and to bind Azazel hand and foot, lay him among rocks, and cover him with darkness. Michael is sent to bind the other angels who had sinned, and place them under the hills for seventy generations, until the day of judgment,—a state of matters that Jude evidently has in his mind when he speaks of the rebellious angels being "reserved in everlasting chains unto the judgment of the great day." It may be noted that sin in the angelic sphere is regarded by the writer in this passage as following the introduction of sin into the world, and, indeed, in some sense as the result of it.

But Enoch does not narrate what thus happened merely for the sake of narrative; he introduces his further function of messenger to those angels thus consigned to imprisonment. When he came to them he found the watcher sitting and lamenting at the meadows of Jâêl,[1] which is near Lebanon and Seneser. He re-

[1] *Ublesgâêl*, Ethiopic. De Sacy transliterates *Oubilsalâyel*.

buked them, and yet he promised to present a petition to the Most High, although he warned them that it would be unsuccessful. He saw in his sleep what he scarcely dared describe with tongue of flesh. The vision appeared to him; the white mist beckoned him to follow; the stars in their courses impelled him on; and the flashing lightning seemed ever driving him forward. And the wind on its mighty wings bore him on till he came to the palace of the great King. He came to a mighty house built of shining crystal, and round it played a flame of fire; foundation and floor and walls were all of crystal, and its ceiling showed the course of the stars and of the lightning, and there were the cherubim between. This was not the true palace yet, it was at once cold as ice and hot as fire; and fear enshrouded[1] the prophet, and trembling seized hold of him.

Through this house he passed, and a second house more glorious and magnificent appeared to him. It was all built of fire; its floor, its ceiling, and its walls were all of fire. In the centre was a great white throne, gleaming like hoar frost. All about was dazzling light, as of the sun shining in his strength; and from out the glory came the voice of the cherubim, from under the throne came floods of flaming fire. On the throne One sat whose garments shone brighter than the sun, and neither man nor angel could look upon His face. Ten thousand times ten thousand stood before Him, but came not nigh Him. He needed not counsel of any. As Enoch was in great fear a voice called him, "Come hither, Enoch, and to my

[1] De Sacy renders, *timor obtexit me.*

holy word;"[1] and Enoch, despite his fear, approached the door that stood open before him. The voice of the Almighty then declared to him the irrevocable doom of the fallen *watchers*. While so much of this looks forward and is caught up by the Book of Revelation, the title *watchers* looks back to Dan. iv. 13, where Nebuchadnezzar saw one of the "watchers" descend to order the tree that represented himself to be hewn down.

After he has received this message for the fallen angels, Enoch is guided by Uriel (Urjân) to the place of woe,—it was away to the west, where fire receives the setting sun,—and went on to the great darkness, where all flesh wanders. There are gathered all the black clouds of winter. The corner-stone of the earth he saw, and the treasures of the wind. Then he came to the abyss which had no firmament of heaven above it, and no foundation of earth beneath it. No water was in it, and no birds cleft the awful gloom with their wings. But over it rolled stars on fire, and Uriel said, "These are they that have transgressed the command of God, wandering stars that came not in their season." In this awful void were seven stars bound together in fetters of fire. These were angels who were bound for ten thousand ages, till their sin has been ended. And he saw in this abyss great columns of fire that rose and fell back in the vast abyss that was full of lurid fire. Ever and anon out of the gloom flickered blue flashes of lightning, and Uriel said, "This is the place of pain, this is the prison of the angels."

[1] Schödde, De Sacy, *ad vocem meam sanctam;* Laurence, "at my holy word;" Dillmann, *zu meinem heiligen Worte.*

After he had visited the place of woe, Enoch proceeds to the intermediate state, where the souls of men await judgment. The whole scene was beautiful; spots of beauty among hard rocks, much like Engedi in the wilderness of the mountain of Judea. Along with the signs of happiness there were voices of lamentation and woe; and one voice especially he noted—the voice of Cain. From this place of mingled joy and sorrow he proceeds to the place of the blessed. Like Dante, Enoch proceeds from the Inferno to the Purgatorio, and thence to the Paradiso. His Paradise, like his intermediate state, is modelled on what he saw around him. Mountains are the ruling figure in the picture. In his Paradise are seven great mountains, with magnificent rocks that are beautiful to look upon. One can easily see how his imagination had been educated by the visions of the mountains of Moab all glowing in the golden lights of sunset. South and north these mountains rose one above the other till the centre was reached on which was the throne of the Most High. There was all the pomp of groves there, and deep shady ravines. Above all was the tree of life of delectable fragrance. At the end of time its fruits shall be given to the chosen ones—the just and the humble. As John Bunyan saw the gateway of hell not far from the very gate of heaven, so among those beautiful mountains is a deep and sterile valley. This sterile valley was a place of punishment for men who had spoken insolently concerning the Most High. After this follow further wanderings through mountains covered with trees from which nectar and galbanum flowed. There were

trees that exhaled sweet odours, sweeter than ever had been felt before. One tree especially drew his admiration—it was like the carob tree, but its fruit was like the grape. Rufael told him this was the fatal tree of knowledge. He proceeded on to the end of the earth, and saw the portals from which the sun issued in different days of the year. Also he saw the treasury of the winds, and the portals from which they burst forth upon the earth. Such is the first portion of the Book of Enoch.

After the portion which we regard as the nucleus, the writer of this first part resumes his physical speculations. At the end of the first portion there was reference to the portals out of which the sun issued at certain times; this becomes more elaborate. The moon's movements are also accounted for in the same way. It may be noticed that the year is assumed to be only three hundred and sixty-four days. It would seem as if the author, knowing something of Greek speculation, wished to propound a theory more elaborate than anything devised by these heathens. Hence, not only are the portals of the sun given more elaborately than in the Noachian fragment, but also the portals of the winds are shown to Enoch, and the seven mountains from whence came hoar frosts. Uriel acts as interpreter in regard to these things; Rufael and Michael are the main interpreters earlier in the book. All these movements of the heavens Enoch is taught to regard as due to the influence of the angels.

Leaving his physical speculations, he proceeds to tell of a dream he had of seeing the heavens fall upon the earth, and all the mountains plunging into the abyss.

His grandfather, Mahalaleel, when told of his dream, at once recognised the impending calamity of the Flood. Seeing the distress of his grandfather, he prays to God not to annihilate the human race. In this prayer the acquaintance of the writer with the Psalms and prophets is obvious to the most careless reader.

He had a second vision, which is very interesting as containing several notes of time. It is singular when we think of the turmoil of the time, of the death and life struggle in which the Maccabees were engaged with the Syrians, that the writer is so much occupied with the course of the luminaries of the heavens. It may have been that this struggle occurred while he was composing his additions. However that may be, this second vision is full of the struggle. It gives an account of the history of the people of God from the creation downwards. Till the time of Abraham the saints are symbolised as white bullocks, after that the saints are a flock of white sheep. This latter symbol bridges over the distance that separates the Old Testament and the New. In the Old Testament there is the twenty-third Psalm, with its assertion of confidence in God as the Shepherd. In the New Testament Christ declares Himself to be the Good Shepherd who giveth His life for the sheep, and says to His disciples, "Fear not, little flock, it is your Father's good pleasure to give you the kingdom."

Again is introduced the sin of the angels. They are figured as stars that assume sex in consequence of their inner fall. The giants, their progeny, are symbolised as elephants, camels, and asses. Eager to tell of the

Flood, yet not wishful to change the figure too soon, Noah is mentioned as a bullock which became a man and built an ark. It is mentioned that of the three bullocks that accompanied this bullock which had become a man, one was red, another black, and a third white. This would seem to show that in the days when this part of the Book of Enoch was written it was the recognised opinion that the negro race was of Hamitic descent. It may, however, be the moral symbolism of the colours that is intended to be prominent, *black* wholly evil, *white* wholly good, and *red* between the two, neither wholly good nor wholly evil.

This history does not display imagination, but occasionally some little fancy. If the description of Ishmael as a wild ass be regarded as a reminiscence of the blessing given by the oracle before Ishmael was born that he should be a "wild ass man," the description of Esau as a wild boar seems a fit symbol both of the man and of the race which proceeded from him. Jacob is symbolised by a sheep. When Israel went down to Egypt they were sheep in the midst of wolves —a figure that is repeated by our Lord (Matt. x. 16) in sending forth the apostles: "Behold, I send you forth as sheep in the midst of wolves." It would be needless waste of time to follow the whole course of Israelitish history thus symbolised. The only change is that the writer begins to particularise Saul, David, and Solomon as rams that rise up to defend the sheep.[1] But the true apocalyptic spirit has not wholly deserted him. He sees behind this great flock of sheep, prone to wander

[1] Schödde say "bucks," but the meaning seems unsuitable. I make use of Laurence and Dillmann here.

on evil ways, seventy angelic shepherds who one after the other guide the sheep, but not always wisely. Indeed, when as angels of judgment it was their duty to slay the evil, the seer declares that they slew more than they ought to have done. These angels represent the seventy nations, into which, according to Jewish belief, the Gentile portion of the human race was divided. This, therefore, refers to the various heathen nations that were used by God to discipline His people.

One half of the shepherds had finished pasturing the flock when the advent of the Hellenic power changed everything. The Egyptians are wolves, the Assyrians and Babylonians lions and tigers, but the Greek power is symbolised by birds,—eagles, vultures, ravens, and kites,[1] a symbol chosen to represent the greater rapidity of motion. Now the writer dwells with evident earnestness on the struggle of Maccabean times. Judas the Maccabee is symbolised as a notable ram, against whom the kites and vultures came and attempted to saw away his horn; but the Lord of the sheep helped him. The struggle seems to the seer a hopeless one, and he sees the Lord of the sheep give a great sword to the sheep, and all these destructive breeds are cast down to the earth, and the throne of the Judge of all the earth is set up near the Holy City, and, in full accord with the representation in Daniel and in the nucleus of the present prophecy, the "books are opened." In full harmony with the apocalyptic tendency to put angels in a place of prominence, the angels are judged first; the *stars*, those angels who

[1] Crows and buzzards, Schödde. We follow Dillmann here.

had been guilty with the daughters of men, and the shepherds, those who had been appointed to guide and govern the nations under whom Israel had lived subject, and, if need be, oppressed are judged, and condemned for their sin and shortcomings. Away beyond this scene of judgment, with its great throne, the vision of the seer pierces, and he sees the coming of the Messiah, whom he figures as a white bullock with large horns, before whom all the beasts of the earth and birds of the air were to fear. In a mysterious passage he says this is "that word." This, however, is probably due to blunder on the part of the Ethiopic translator from the Greek, and ignorance on the part of the Greek translator from the Hebrew.[1]

After the vision comes an exhortation. Methuselah is called upon to summon all the sons of Enoch in order to hear his parting counsels. In course of giving advice he becomes prophetic. He tells of oppression and wrong, but he sees also the approach of the Messiah, when the just one who now sleeps shall awake. He sees Him not only subduing all Israel to Himself, but also the Gentiles, who will also be all brought into subjection to Him. His sword will destroy injustice and unrighteousness down to the roots. The Messiah the writer looks forward to is a conqueror who will be judge of all men in virtue of His victories. One might be almost inclined to regard this (chap. xci.) as the work of a different hand from that which wrote the chapters immediately preceding, from the fact that these roots of unrighteousness are cut by the Messiah; but the appearance of the Messiah of chap. xc. is after

[1] Translated "unicorn," Ps. xxix. 6; Deut. xxxiii. 17.

the judgment. The writer therefore does not contemplate the end of the world's history when the great judgment is over.

There was thus now a considerable mass of tracts, all connected with Enoch, in the hands of the community at Engedi, and read by them with great interest. It occurred to some one of the members that it might be well to have them all together, so he combined all the portions, and added the last chapter, which is somewhat colourless.

CHAPTER IV.

THE ELEVENTH OF DANIEL.

WHILE the Book of Enoch was thus being slowly compiled, another writer also was impressed with the suffering of his people. The book, however, that most affected him was the canonical Book of Daniel. The solitaries in Engedi had necessarily a peculiar reverence for Daniel as a person. He had abjured all animal food, and ate only pulse and drank only water. In fact, in his mode of life he was their great example. This simple mode of life was regarded as being specially conducive to Divine revelation, since to Daniel, who lived on pulse, the dream was revealed that was hid from all the wise men of Babylon. When thus their whole system rested on Daniel, why should they go away back to Enoch? Would not the spirit of Daniel be ready to descend upon them? The Book of Daniel was not the special property of the solitaries, as was the Book of Enoch, for it was much more generally known, as may be perceived by the quotation from it in the First Book of the Maccabees, which, as we have seen, was really a Sadducean book. At the end of the reign of John Hyrcanus the first Daniel was recognised as canonical, and so indisputably so that the writer imagines Mattathias quoting for the encouragement of his fellow-

countrymen the case of the three Hebrew children in the fiery furnace, and of Daniel in the lions' den. To the inhabitants of the cells in Engedi, the revelation of the future in the canonical Daniel, though grand, was not nearly particular enough. The imagination could not fail to be filled with the majestic visions which Daniel himself saw, or which he interpreted for his master Nebuchadnezzar, their wide sweep, and the glory of the Messianic kingdom toward which all history was travelling; but still it lacked somewhat for them. That to the Persian empire the Greek had succeeded, as the Persian had followed the Babylonian was true; that another empire should succeed the Greek, was also probable and very grateful to them. Still as that deliverance was in remote futurity, their minds dwelt longingly on the more immediate struggle and difficulties. Surely Daniel must have foreseen all this conflict, all this elaborate network of diplomacy. The next step is to think how Daniel would have told the tale of the struggle of Egypt with Syria for the possession of the Holy Land. Brooding over the position of past and future, and having his thoughts defined by the movements of the armies, one of the solitaries as by a flash seemed to see it all,—how now an army from the north would enter Palestine from the way of Hamath, and spread over Galilee and on toward Egypt;—how again, crossing a river of Egypt, an army from the south would pass along the Philistine cities of the sea coast;—how sometimes it was the one that conquered, sometimes it was the other. Syria and Egypt were too local, and merely temporal names for the

lofty regions of prophecy. To him, the new Daniel, they were kings of the north and kings of the south. The first beginning of the vision is the founding of the Lagid dominion of Egypt, followed by the founding of that of the Seleucids of Syria. The next step is the marriage of the daughter of Philadelphus to Antiochus Theos, who soon repudiated her, and she was slain. Her brother, Ptolemy Euergetes, took vengeance on Syria and Seleucus Callinicus for what had been done to his sister. But the swing of the pendulum brings Antiochus the Great down upon Syria. At first he is defeated, "all his multitude are given into the hands of Philopator," who makes tens of thousands fall. Though defeated, Antiochus returns and defeats the Egyptians. All, however, is but preparing the way for the advent of that portent of wickedness, Antiochus Epiphanes, the son of Antiochus the Great. He did what neither his father nor his father's father had done;—he invaded Egypt successfully, and in all probability would have conquered it had not the Roman power intervened. All this is seen by the seer, and then follows the terrible time of persecution. When he was grieved by the arrival of "the ships of Chittim," he "had indignation against the holy covenant." The death of Onias III. seems to have filled the hearts of men with peculiar horrors, and thus not only is the death of the prince of the covenant referred to here, but it is also in the Book of Enoch. The general godlessness of Epiphanes is described; even the heathen deities whom he professed to honour, he robbed. His worship of Jupiter Capitolinus is well indicated by saying

that he worshipped the god of forces whom his fathers knew not. What probably Epiphanes meant was to sedulously honour Rome under cover of Jupiter Capitolinus, although he had been snubbed by the Roman envoys so badly in Egypt. It may be, however, that with that strange mingling of superstition with godlessness so often observed, he had the idea that Jupiter Capitolinus, the deity of Rome, was somehow the cause of her commanding greatness, and therefore he sought by sacrificing to the Capitoline Jupiter to gain the talisman which secured victory. But the prophet watches the progress of his devastation, sees the tyrant planting his tents in the glorious and holy mountain, and then he is smitten. It must have come upon the Jews with a sense of relief when their adversary fell in Persia. It would seem, however, that the chapter before us was written before the event. The seer in his full trust in a God who judges righteously is confident that the tyrant who has thus insulted the Lord of Hosts shall fall, and it shall not be in the power of any one to help him. If we may understand Epiphanes as leading the persecution against the Essenes, there would be an additional horror in the presence of the camp of Epiphanes some twenty miles off, and therefore an additional certainty that he would fall by the hand of God.

CHAPTER V.

THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.

APOCALYPSE is the result of some crisis in the spiritual history of the people of God, when, either from internal faithlessness or external violence, the cause of truth is endangered. The Maccabean struggle ended in victory, and in the establishment of a new dynasty. To those visionaries who, by the silent shores of the Dead Sea, maintained the old hope of a Messiah of the house of David, this assumption of the throne and crown by the Hasmonæans must have been shocking, and naturally made them withdraw even more and more from all participation, or even interest, in public affairs. When Alexander Jannæus persecuted the Pharisees, or when his widow, Alexandra, favoured them, it was equally without interest to the Essenes. Alexander had usurped the crown which belonged alone to the son of David, and the Pharisees, with all their minute objection to lesser matters, had condoned that greater fault—they had not protested against his marriage with his brother's widow. He was high priest, therefore might not marry a widow, and therefore the levirate law did not hold. Hence the persecution the Pharisees endured at the hand of Alexander, and that they in turn inflicted on the Sadducees under his widow, were equally

unimportant to them. The "society people" in Scotland, from whom the later Reformed Presbyterians sprang, stood aloof in the same way from the struggles of the Marrow men and the Moderates of the beginning of the eighteenth century. Both parties alike had acknowledged an uncovenanted king, and the difference between the guilt of the one and the guilt of the other was of little importance. The Essenes, as we have seen, certainly had their dwellings here and there in the various cities of the country; but though they did at times appear as prophets, and they seem to have given isolated forecasts of the future of individuals, the circumstances were not such as to prompt a manifestation of the apocalyptic spirit.

With the death of Alexandra, and the terrible fratricidal struggle between John Hyrcanus II. and his younger brother Aristobulus, a new era dawned. It was always in seasons of trouble and distress that apocalypse flourished, so we may imagine how the news of these bloody conflicts between the two sects must have stirred the hearts of the solitaries. Their attitude in the conflict was probably that of Onias, who, when desired by the adherents of Hyrcanus, who was besieging his brother in Jerusalem, to pray against him and his followers, prayed to the Almighty to grant to neither of them their desires against their brethren. Hyrcanus and Antipater, his friend, had called in the Arabs; but now Rome appeared on the scene, and after some diplomatic vacillation, Pompey entered Jerusalem and took the temple with great slaughter. This was worse than anything that had befallen the people since the days of Epiphanes.

As the terrible tidings came that the Romans had made this and that new advance towards the south, the excitement of the Essene rose higher and higher, till at length the tidings arrived that Jerusalem was surrounded by the armies of Rome, led by the invincible Pompey. Day by day did tidings come that the city had opened its gates—the people had shut themselves in the temple—it was besieged; then came daily news of the progress of the siege. There is a delay, for the conqueror has no battering train; it has to be brought from Tyre. At last the battering train arrives, the rams and catapults are set up and begin work. Then at last a breach is effected—the temple is taken—the people of God slain. The last, most terrible tale comes—the Holy Place is desecrated. Into the Holy of Holies has entered Pompey, attended by his officers. A horror in some respects even greater than that which attended the much worse deeds of Epiphanes greeted this act of Pompey. It was as if the whole sanctity of the temple had been taken away.

To those who, in the valley of Engedi, had retired from the struggles of the political world, it seemed like the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar. As Zedekiah and his sons had been removed to Babylon, so Aristobulus and his family were taken to Rome, the new Babylon, to adorn the triumph of the conquerors. The similarity of the circumstances suggested that Baruch, the secretary of Jeremiah, must have looked with similar feelings on the earlier scene. One of the community who had studied, not only the sacred apocalyptic books, but also the prophets, commenced to write.

The word of the Lord came to him as he feigns it in the twenty-fifth year of Jeconiah (Jehoiakin),[1] and tells him of the impending fate of Zion. He is told to proclaim this to Jeremiah and those like himself. As the writer casts his mind away back to the past—he knew of the schools of the prophets—he imagines that the prophetic community was like the society of which he was a member—that the sons of the prophets gathered round Elijah or Elisha, or whoever it was who was prophet, to get his counsels and commands, and that every one obeyed the prophets, as the Essenes submitted to the head of their order. In consequence of this message that he is appointed to deliver to Jeremiah, Baruch is represented as carrying on a dialogue with the Almighty. He laments that he is appointed to see the distress of "his mother" Jerusalem. In answer, the Almighty assures him that this is only for a time, for a chastisement; that His promise to keep Zion, since its name was engraven on the palms of His hands, still held good; but He points Baruch to the more glorious Zion which is above, concerning which, in truth, His promise really was given — the city which had been revealed to Adam before he fell, to Abraham when God made His covenant with him, and to Moses in Mount Sinai.[2] The new Jerusalem which John in Patmos saw descending out of heaven

[1] Evidently a blunder either of the copyist or of the original writer. If the latter, it presupposes an amount of ignorance of the national history that is difficult to understand. This latter supposition seems indeed incomprehensible when, as we see below, Chap. VIII., the writer is quite aware that it was Zedekiah that was bound and carried to Babylon.

[2] Comp. Heb. xi. 16.

from God is evidently derived from this, and also the heavenly city mentioned by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews as the hope of the ancient patriarchs. When Baruch pleads in the words of Moses for the people, "What wilt Thou do for Thy great name?" he is told that God's name is eternal. He then leads Jeremiah and the rest down to the valley of the Kedron, —the stream that falls into the Dead Sea a little to the north of Engedi,—and proclaims the unwelcome tidings that Zion was to be taken by her enemies.

When the Chaldean army closed around Zion, in vision he saw four angels with torches standing in the towers of Mount Zion, but another angel descended from heaven to commit the holy vessels to the custody of the earth. The earth at the command of the angel opened her mouth and swallowed down the ark, the ephod, the altar of sacrifice, the altar of incense, and the sacred ephod, to guard them from the heathen till the time when she should be called upon to restore them. Then the angels said, "Let us overturn the walls, even to the foundation, lest the enemies boast themselves and say, 'We have overturned the wall of Zion; we have burned the place of the mighty God;'" and thus it befell, "because He that guarded the house had deserted it." The seer knew that in mistaken obedience to Sabbatic law the defenders did not maintain such vigorous sorties on Sabbath as on other days, and so the Romans advanced their approaches most on the Sabbath. It seemed, then, as if the God to whom the city and all that it contained belonged had deserted it. It was as if its walls had been undermined by other than mortal hands.

After the city has fallen, Jeremiah is commanded to accompany the captives to Babylon to strengthen them while Baruch remains. Baruch returns to Jerusalem, and seats himself at the gate of the temple and laments over Zion. He then denounces judgment on Babylon, by which he evidently means Rome. At this point the dialogue between Baruch and God is resumed. There is an echo of the prophets and the Psalms in the profound reverence of Baruch's words, "Who, O Lord Jehovah, may comprehend Thy judgments, or search out the depths of Thy way; who may reckon the weight of Thy path, or who is able to think Thine incomprehensible counsel; or who even of the sons found the beginning or end of Thy wisdom; and we all are as a breath?" Baruch's difficulty is that the world was created because of the righteous,[1] and now the world remains and the righteous are taken away. God answers him that the world which now is, is only a strife and a pain to the saints, but they shall possess the future world, and in it a crown and great glory. Where Baruch complains of the shortness of life,—a natural thing to one who thought of the study of the law, with a Jew's reverence for it and a Jew's belief in its endless possibilities,—God's answer is, that He does not reckon "time much or years few." He does not, in fact, reckon by time relations at all; however, he further promises that the times of blessing will come and will not tarry. Baruch then departs from the threshold of the ruined temple to the valley of the Kedron, and there in a cavern of the earth he hides himself and purifies his soul to receive the revelation

[1] Assumption of Moses.

of the future by fasting, neither eating bread nor drinking water, yet suffering from neither hunger nor thirst.

After he had prayed the heavens opened, and he hears a voice admonishing him that undue haste ruins all. The Almighty proceeds to lay down the doctrine of original sin in a form that suggests the theology of the Apostle Paul. There is a marked distinction, however—the death that follows the sin of Adam, and is inherited by his descendants, is death physical, not moral or spiritual. It is further added, that when Adam sinned the number of those that should be born was fixed, and the place of the dead was prepared also. To the apocalyptist the final judgment always appeared in the not distant future. The great throne and the books of judgment are here also. In the book there is a notion which reminds the reader of the Roman Catholic doctrine of the treasury of the Church; there are treasures in which the righteousness of those who are justified is collected. Baruch is told that he shall be preserved till the time of the coming of the Messiah. The sign when that time approaches is given him, "when astonishment shall lay hold of the inhabitants of the earth, and they shall fall into many tribulations, and again into great torments."[1] Baruch puts a question, whether this time of tribulation shall be long—a question that seems to be implied, or, at all events, is answered by implication by our Lord, when he says, "Except those days should be shortened, no flesh should be saved." The answer in

[1] The reader can scarcely fail to note the resemblance to what our Lord says of His own second coming, Matt. xxiv.; Luke xxi.

this case is that these times of tribulation are divided into twelve parts, in which there are successive woes manifesting themselves on the people. It is added, "the measure and computation of that time will be two parts-weeks of seven weeks." The ordinary meaning of this would be fourteen weeks, or little more than a quarter of a year; but the probability is that the reference is to the jubilees, and this assertion is, that the coming of the Messiah would be two jubilees after the time of Baruch,—a time that was long overpast by the time the Essene, who here feigns himself Baruch, was writing. It is, however, difficult to put any interpretation on this that is perfectly satisfactory.

Another portion is interesting as revealing the influence of Rabbinic tradition even among the Essenes. Behemoth and Leviathan were created in order that they should be meat for the saints of God in Messianic times. Behemoth comes out of his place and Leviathan from the sea. These are regarded, not as species, but as individual. Next follows a still further description of the bliss of Messianic times which is full of interest, as it is quoted by Papias,[1] and attributed by him to our Lord. "The earth," we are told, "will bring forth fruit, one producing ten thousand; in the vine there will be a thousand branches, and every branch a thousand clusters, and every cluster a thousand berries, and every berry will yield a *cor* of wine."

The coming of the Messiah was closely associated in the minds of the Essenes with the resurrection. "After these things, when the time of the coming of the Messiah is fulfilled, and He shall return in glory, then all who

[1] Irenæus, *Adv. Hær.* v. 33.

have fallen asleep in hope shall arise,"—a sentence that certainly recalls the exhortation Paul addresses to the Thessalonian Christians, that they should not sorrow as others who had no hope, seeing "them which sleep in Jesus will God bring with Him." He proceeds to tell how the souls of the just shall come out of the repositories in which they had been guarded, and all the souls of men shall appear also; "the former shall rejoice, and the latter shall be sad." "The souls of the impious, when they see these things, shall waste away." For they know that the time of their judgment has come, and that their perdition is at hand.

A change now is introduced. After this fasting in the cave of the earth, the seer goes to the people in Zion. Evidently no such utter ruin as befell Jerusalem after the capture by Titus is before the mind of the writer. Neither after the capture of the city by the Chaldeans, nor after that by the Romans, was there so much of civil or municipal life left that there were *elders* of the people. Yet Baruch calls the people to "assemble unto him their elders." He then tells them what will befall the city and the temple. He tells them that the temple will be rebuilt again to be overturned and left desolate for a season, after that it shall be crowned with perpetual glory. This is the classical passage of those who place Baruch late; but it seems to us that this opinion under-estimates the horrors that thrilled through the people of Judah when Pompey pierced into the Holy of Holies.

The writer places unconsciously his meeting with the elders at Jerusalem at the mouth of the Kedron, near

Engedi, and so he represents Baruch telling his audience that he would depart to the Holy of Holies and pray God for their sake, for the sake of Zion, that he should have further illumination. In consequence, he has a vision of a vine with a quiet fountain beneath it, surrounded by a great wood. A flood carries away all the trees of this wood but one lofty cedar. It stands for awhile; then it, too, falls, and is swept towards the vine, which dooms it to destruction. There is an interpretation given, from which we learn that this forest of trees is the last world-empire, that of Rome, and the lofty cedar which survives all the rest is the last Roman leader.[1] It is not a *king*, as may be noted, who thus survives. It is evidently Pompey that is in the mind of the seer, who then was towering over the heads of all others, and who, he imagines, will be swept in the catastrophe of time to the feet of the Messiah, who, along with the Jewish people, is the vine and the quiet fountain beside it. The Almighty, who shows him the vision, tells him that some of his people will, at that time, cast themselves free from the yoke of the law, and that others, heathens presumably, should leave their vanity and flee under the wings of Judaism,—a state of matters which began to be marked about the time of Pompey. God further commands him to leave his people and fast seven days, in order that he may be in a fit state to receive a further revelation.

After this, Baruch returns to his people and makes known to certain of them the things he has heard and what has been commanded him. Those that are chosen

[1] *Dux* Ceriani ܪܒ ܚܝܠܐ, leader.

for this revelation are his own eldest son, Gedeliah,[1] and seven from the elders of the people. They protest against this desertion, but he persists and goes to Hebron. When there, he prays, interceding for his people, "Protect us in Thy mercy, and in Thy pity aid us; look to the children who have been subject to Thee, and save all those that approach unto Thee, neither take away the hope of our people, nor remove the time of their help. For this is the people whom Thou hast chosen, these are the folk to whom Thou hast not found the like." But the answer is, "My judgment requires its own, and my law demands its right;" then follows the sin of the people, and hence the necessity of wrath being poured forth upon them. When he hears this, Baruch exclaims, "O Adam, what hast thou done to all those springing from thee; and what shall be said of Eve, who first hearkened to the serpent? Because this whole multitude has gone to torment, nor can those be numbered whom the fire devours." Emboldened, he renews his petitions for his people, and receives the promise of the resurrection. "The earth shall certainly restore the dead which now it has received that it may guard them, for I have delivered them to it that it may raise them." Then follows all the splendour into which the righteous shall be changed,—a statement that reminds one of the Pauline declaration, 1 Cor. iii. 18, that believers "shall be changed into the same image from glory to glory." But there is also the astonishment that shall fall on the wicked when they see this. "At the sight they shall

[1] Ceriani renders "Godal*ios* amic*os* meo*s*," which would seem to be a blunder of some copyist, who has added the sign of the plural.

very much melt away; and afterwards shall depart, that they may be tormented." This theme is soon left and the more pleasing theme of the glory of God's people is dwelt upon: "They are forced from this world of tribulation, and have laid down the weight of distress." "In what then have those men lost their life; and for what have they, that have been in the earth, exchanged their soul?"[1] When he hears this Baruch implicitly confesses his error, for he says, "Wherefore do we give an account of those who die, or weep for those that go into the grave?"

When he had heard these things he fell asleep, and another vision was granted to him. In his vision he sees "a cloud which crossed the heaven swiftly in its hasty career and covered the whole earth; then it happened after these things that the cloud began to rain water upon the earth." He then noticed a peculiarity in the waters that came down from the cloud. First the waters came down very black, then after a time they came down bright and clear. Some such phenomenon would be seen when a thunderstorm swept over the regions about the Dead Sea. First, the heavy black cloud covering the whole heaven and the rain seem black as ink; then a "rift" behind the cloud lets the light shine through, and the rain, which seemed so black before, now seems to be bright and shining. This process of alternate darkness and light went on for twelve times, and then came these two additional times of darkness and light. Filled with the mystery of this vision, Baruch prays to God. His prayer is largely adoration, and his request occupies

[1] Comp. Mark viii. 37.

but a small space in the many words he uses. In course of his prayer he gives a statement of doctrine in regard to Adam's sin and its effects, which is almost Calvinistic, though the doctrine of election is different: "For if Adam the first sinned and brought death too soon upon all; so of those born from him, one has prepared future torment for his soul, and another chooses for himself future glory; for certainly he who believes shall receive the reward."

After his prayer he rests under a tree, and Ramiel is sent to explain the vision to him. These differing showers are different periods of history. The first, dark waters, the history up to the Flood; the second, clear waters, the call of Abraham. So on down the course of history till the twelfth represents the restoration of the Jews by Cyrus. Then came the other black waters, which seem to be the time of the Epiphanes. Next, there are waters that are neither black nor bright; this represents the times of the later Maccabees, when there was mingled glory and disgrace. Thus the last black waters were the coming of Pompey, and beyond,—behind were the bright and glorious times of the Messiah. The times of the Messiah are described in terms which, though somewhat conventional and prolix, are not deficient in beauty. "Then health shall descend in dew, and weakness leave, and care and sorrow and groaning shall depart from men, and joy shall walk about the whole earth; nor shall any die till he is of full age, nor shall any adversity fall suddenly on any man. And judgments, and accusations, and contentions, and revenges, and blood, and coveting, and envy, and hatred, and whatsoever things

are like to these, shall depart into condemnation. And wild beasts shall come out of the forest and shall minister to men, and serpents and dragons shall come from their holes and submit themselves to a little child. And it shall be in those days that the reapers shall not weary nor the builders toil; for work shall go on freely with them who do those things in much tranquillity." After Baruch has acknowledged gratefully the vision, it is announced to him that he shall "depart, but not to death, but to the resurrection of time." He is then ordered to ascend up into a lofty mountain that he may see "all the regions of the earth in order that he may learn what shall happen in the last times." We are not told what he saw, for immediately thereupon he assembles all his fellow-countrymen, and urges upon them the duty of serving the Lord by reminding them what the Lord had done to Sion. The people then gave a hearty response to his exhortation, and desired him to write to their brethren in Babylon. He answers with a praise of the law: "There are shepherds and lights and fountains from the law; although we depart, yet the law remains. If, therefore, ye shall have respect to the law, and be prudent in wisdom, ye shall not want a lamp; a shepherd will not depart from you, nor your fountain become dry."

After having thus spoken, Baruch sat him down under an oak and wrote two Epistles. Then he summoned an eagle, and commanded him to bear one of these letters to the nine tribes and a half, the other he sent by the hands of three men to Babylon.

In this letter to the nine tribes and a half he tells

them of the disasters that had befallen Sion; how it had been surrounded by armies and taken, and most of its inhabitants led into captivity. After having told this sad part of his message, and sending it home by telling them that what they and their brethren were suffering was but according to their deserts, he proceeds to open up to them the promise of the future. "Now the righteous are gathered together, and the prophets have fallen on sleep. We, too, have gone out from our own land. Sion is taken from us, nor have we anything more now but the Almighty and His law. If, then, we shall have directed and disposed our hearts, we shall receive again all that we have lost, and things more excellent than those we have lost, and more in measure. What we have lost was corruptible, what we shall receive shall never be corrupted." Again, the words suggest those of Paul, of the "body sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body; it is sown in corruption, it is raised in glory. When this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, then shall death be swallowed up of victory." In a similar way he testified to his brethren in Babylon.

Having written these Epistles, he bound the one on the eagle's neck, and committed the other to faithful messengers. Thus ends the Apocalypse of Baruch.

CHAPTER VI.

THE PSALTER OF SOLOMON.

THE Essenes did not stay only in Engedi, but had all through Palestine houses where they dwelt when occasion called them to leave their retreat at Engedi. In Jerusalem there was one of these houses near one of the gates, which from this fact got the name of the Gate of the Essenes. In the Middle Ages the preaching friars were thus accommodated in the houses of their order wherever they happened to find themselves. In those houses dwelt certain persons appointed to keep them—members of the order who thus dwelling in cities can scarcely be said to have been of them. They were Essenes first, citizens afterwards—were, in fact, more spectators than actors in the events that transpired.

About the time when the struggle between the sons of Queen Alexandra was reaching an acute stage, there seems to have dwelt in the Essene house in Jerusalem one who chose as his favourite study, not Daniel or Isaiah, but the Book of Psalms. But while the cadence of David, of Asaph, and of later psalmists kept ringing in his ear, still the apocalyptic leaven was in him. His eye was fixed, not so much on the present, with its miserable intrigues and hatreds, its *roi fainéant* John Hyrcanus II., its coxcomb pretender Aristobulus

II., its cunning mayor of the palace Antipater, as on the future,—the Messianic times and the Messianic glories. Although others have named the compositions in which he expressed his feeling the Psalter of Solomon, he never claims such a title, nor ever gives a hint to lead one to make the deduction. He seems rather to be at pains to tell us what manner of man he is, and in what circumstances he is living.

The first of these psalms shows a saint vexed with the ungodly deeds of sinners. He calls to God in his trouble when sinners assailed him. Suddenly he heard the sound of war,[1] and he heard the sounds "because he was filled with righteousness," the warning sound came to him because of his righteousness. He heard away across the mountains the tread of the advancing armies of Rome. He thought himself righteous from the thoroughly Hebraistic reason that he had prospered and had many children. This leads us to see that the writer belonged to that section of the Essenes who did not eschew matrimony. But after he has assigned this reason for his conviction of his righteousness, he meditates on the matter, and finds that though the honour of the rich may be to the very end of the earth, and one may be sure they never can fall, yet they may have secret sins that will destroy them. Nay, he seems to imply that the wealthy in his own days were so bad that for a man to be wealthy was in all probability to be wicked. "Their iniquities are beyond

[1] Greek *ἐπακούσεταί μου*, evidently from Hebrew שמע; the translator has read this 3 preterite with suffix instead of infinitive with suffix. Wellhausen translates this second verse, *Plötzlich drang mir Kriegsgeschrei zu Ohren "er erhört mich weil ich voller gerechtigkeit bin,"* making the latter clause the war-cry, which seems absurd.

those of all the heathen before them—beyond those of nations that God cast out before the children of Israel. They utterly profaned the holy things of Jehovah."[1]

He begins his second psalm by stating the occasion of it: "When the arrogance of sinners overturned the strong walls with their battering rams, and Thou didst not hinder." It is difficult for us to realise the horror that must have filled the heart of a pious Jew dwelling in Jerusalem at what took place during the time that Pompey held possession of the city of Jerusalem and besieged the temple. All through the day was heard the heavy crash of the ram with its iron head as it thundered against the wall. How every blow must have gone through the heart of each Jewish saint when the silence of the Sabbath was continuously broken by the hideous clangour! Every now and then would be heard the sharper crash, when now one part, now another of the sacred building fell in under the blows dealt by some stone from a catapult. Although they were Sadducees who were thus besieged, yet it was the house of God in which they were besieged, and the priests on whose heads had been poured the anointing oil were there offering undismayed and unceasing sacrifice to the Most High. How often must the cry have been ready to rise from the lips of our psalmist, "Why sleep the thunders of Sinai? When will the arm of the Lord awake?" The siege and capture of the temple by Pompey was an event specially trying for the faith of the Jews. In their reverence for the

[1] Wellhausen assumes without hint at proof that the religious community in Israel is personified in this first psalm. He does the same with the second psalm with as little justification.

Sabbatic law, the Jews in the temple did not make sorties on the Sabbath, and the Romans taking advantage of this pressed on their approaches most on the Sabbath. Yet—and this was the mysterious thing —God did not interpose to hinder. So that these foreigners in their arrogance ascended the very altar and trode it under foot. More terrible than all—that altar is defiled with the blood of the sacred priests of the Lord who are slain while ministering at it. The only explanation he can give of this mystery is that "the sons of Jerusalem had defiled the holy things of Jehovah, and by their iniquities had profaned the gifts of God." It was on account of these crimes that God has "cast them from Him, and declared He would have no pleasure in them"— "brought their glory to nought." What affects him most, as most clearly giving evidence that God is against them, is the fact that the sons and daughters of his people are sent into evil captivity. The Babylonian captivity, however terrible in many aspects at the time, had been softened by distance. The sorrows of four hundred years ago are not felt very keenly. Now Babylon had become a second home of Judaism, where it flourished even more than in Palestine. But the crossing of the great and wide sea to Rome to be sold in the slave market, that was a far more terrible captivity than the deportation inflicted on their fathers by Nebuchadnezzar. Yet he acknowledges that it was because none had ever acted as they had done. God had set Jerusalem for a mockery on account of their impurity, "because they had sinned had He destroyed them." Although he acknowledges the

justice of God, yet his bowels are pained within him for all these things. "I will justify Thee, O God, in rightness of heart, because in Thy judgment is Thy righteousness, O God, because Thou hast rendered to sinners according to their works, according to their exceedingly vile sins. Thou hast unveiled their sins, in order that Thou mightest manifest Thy judgment." Speaking of Jerusalem he says: "She put on sackcloth instead of a beautiful garment, and had a rope upon her head instead of a diadem. She laid aside the mitre of glory which God gave her. Her beauty is cast in dishonour on the ground."

But he prays and entreats God to be merciful, that what had befallen might be regarded as sufficient. It was true that the heathen had been the messengers of Divine vengeance, yet they acted in wrath and passion, and therefore he prays that they may not be unpunished, that God delay not to pour out upon their own heads the reward of their arrogance.

Thus far we may suppose the writer to have proceeded with his psalm in the year 62 B.C. For years, Pompey, great as no other Roman had ever been before him, seems to be above the judgments of God, but then comes the civil war. Great as Pompey is, there is a greater in the field—Pompey is overthrown at Pharsalia. What a thrill the strange tidings must have sent into the heart of this Jew, who had seen the horrors of the siege. At last vengeance is overtaking the man of pride. Defeat and death are not all that is in store for Pompey; to have died on the field, that would not have satisfied the demand for retributive justice. But God showed him Pompey,

a fugitive landing on the shores of Egypt, slain by those he had benefited, and his body left there a prey until some kind hands gave him the rites of Roman sepulture. It seems that Pompey himself must confess his pride as the reason of his fate.[1] "I said, 'I will be lord of earth and sea, and I recognised not that God is great and mighty in His great power. He is the King of the heavens, and judgeth kings and rulers, raising me to honour, giving over the arrogant to eternal destruction because they did not know Him.'"

He ends his psalm with an exhortation to rulers and great ones to remember that God is great, and to the saints to bless God because He is always mindful of His people, and that He is good to them that call upon Him in patience. He ends with a doxology. Blessed be the Lord for ever, before His servants.

The third psalm begins with praise: "Wherefore dost thou sleep, O my soul, and dost not bless the Lord? Sing a new song to the God who is worthy to be praised." Having thus introduced the psalm, he describes the just as those who always remember the Lord in confessing and justifying His judgments. "Being chastened by the Lord, the just does not regard as a light matter; his satisfaction is always before the Lord. The righteous stumbleth and justifieth the Lord; he falls, and looks to see what God will do unto him, and he looks steadily whence his salvation cometh." One side of repentance is here exhibited; the righteous man falls into sin, but from the depth

[1] Reading εἶπον instead of εἶπεν.

of his sin he looks up to God his Saviour and acknowledges his sin and submits to Divine chastisement.

But the truth of his contention is exhibited by this, "sin upon sin does not dwell in his habitation." He watches over his dwelling to cast out transgression from it. The Essenian character of the book is seen in the fact that the just makes atonement by fasting for sins of ignorance, and thus "shall he humble his soul." The psalmist recognises Divine sovereignty, declaring, "Jehovah purifies every holy man and his house."

The psalmist proceeds now to contrast the sinner with the righteous. "The sinner stumbles and curses his life, the day of his birth, and his mother's birth pangs." No one can fail to see a reference here to the Book of Job; yet it is strange that thus by implication censure is passed upon Job. Perhaps the psalmist would make the difference depend on the fact that Job had not stumbled consciously, whereas the sinner has. The parallelism with the righteous is carried on yet further; they fall, and "their corpse is evil, and shall not be raised up." That conditional immortality is intended here may be regarded as confirmed by the next statement, "The destruction of the wicked is for ever, and they shall not be remembered when God looks upon the just." The psalmist concludes by declaring, "Those who fear the Lord shall rise again to life everlasting, and their life shall be in the light of the Lord, and shall never be quenched."

The psalmist having thus contrasted the righteous

and sinners, proceeds in the fourth psalm to assail some one in high place who is unworthy of it, demanding of him why he sits in the Sanhedrin. "Thy heart is far from the Lord," he says; "by thine iniquities thou enragest the God of Israel." It is impossible not to think that the writer had an individual before his eyes, "excessive in words, excessive above all in pride;[1] harsh in his words when condemning sinners in judgment, and as if from zeal his hand is among the first upon the culprit." The reference here evidently is to the punishment of stoning, especially as inflicted on one guilty of adultery, "and he himself is guilty of manifold sins and excesses." Such a man must have been the lineal ancestor of those who brought the woman taken in adultery before our Lord. They, one and all, convicted by their own conscience, by going out confessed themselves as guilty as the woman was. "His eyes are upon every woman without exception —a tongue that perjures itself in covenants. In the night and in secret he sins when he is not seen. With his eyes he speaks to every woman for sin; yet swift in entering in every house with joy, as if innocent." Modern life presents us with a similar spectacle—magistrates who from the bench in the morning unctuously rebuke those sins in others of which nightfall shall certainly see themselves guilty. We know the Sadducean party were very harsh in their judgments, especially in the matter of adultery,

[1] Greek: *σημείωσις*; this may mean secret signals, as nods or winks. Wellhausen translates the clause *überragend in Worten überragend in Hoffahrt sie alle.*

and common report made the whole priestly party flagitious to the last degree.

Some have thought that Antipater, the father of Herod, is here intended. We do not know enough of his private character to be sure whether he would suit this portrait; there are, however, none of the features that, judging the father from the son, are at all unlikely. There are two objections that seem fatal: there is no hint that the person the Psalmist is assailing is of alien birth as Antipater was, at all events, alleged to be; further, the description seems intended for one of the Sadducean party, and Antipater was the friend of Hyrcanus, who was supported by the Pharisees.

The psalmist cries to God to remove those who live in hypocrisy with the saints; prays that their works be held up to mockery and contempt; that the saints shall justify the judgments of their God when He takes away sinners from the presence of the just. They are full of envy, and make use of sophistries to destroy.

Having described the evil-doer, the writer, his mind evidently full of the words of the 109th Psalm, prays down curses on the wicked doer: "Let his outgoing be with groans, and his entrance with a curse. Let sleep forsake his eyes in the night, and success his hands in the day. Let his old age be in the solitude of childlessness, and his flesh scattered by men-devouring beasts." In assigning a reason for his demand for judgment on the sinner, the psalmist passes rapidly from the individual in question to the class, "because they desolated many houses in contempt and squandered

in lust. They did not remember God; in nothing did they fear Him."

He ends with a song after his denunciation: "Blessed are they who fear the Lord in their innocency; the Lord will save them from men of craft and from sinners, and will save us from every stumbling-block of transgression. Let Thy mercy, O Lord, be upon all those who love Thee."

An enlightened trust in God, even while suffering affliction, is one of the characteristics of the psalmists of the canon; in his fifth psalm our psalmist assumes the same attitude. He commences by praising God for His goodness and extolling His might. This, however, is but the prelude to the statement of his trust in God. "When we are afflicted we will call to Thee for help, and Thou wilt not turn away our prayer, for Thou art our God. Let not Thy hand be heavy upon us, lest we be forced to sin. If I am hungry I will cry to Thee, O God, and Thou wilt bestow upon me. Thou feedest the birds and the fishes; Thou givest rains in the desert for the springing of grass; Thou preparest herbage in the desert for every living thing. Thou feedest kings and rulers and peoples; who is the hope of the poor and the needy except Thee, O Lord? The goodness of a man to his friend[1] endures for a day; should he repeat it without murmuring, thou mayest marvel at it. Upon all the earth, O Lord, is Thy mercy in goodness."

As in former cases the psalmist ends with a song: "Blessed is he whom the Lord remembereth on account

[1] Hilgenfeld reads φιλῷ. There is, however, no suggestion of the deceitfulness of human kindness, but rather its want of continuance.

of his self-control; those that fear the Lord rejoice in good things; Thy goodness is upon Israel, Thy kingdom; the glory of the Lord is to be praised, for He is our King."

In the following psalm there is a continuation of this hymn of praise: "Blessed is the man whose heart is ready to call upon the name of the Lord. When he remembers the name of the Lord he shall be saved." The blessings of this psalm form a contrast to the curses of the fourth. Of the righteous it is said, "His ways shall be made straight of the Lord, and the works of His hands preserved. Visions of evil dreams shall not afflict his soul. He shall arise from his sleep, and shall bless the name of the Lord." It ends with the doxology, "Blessed be the Lord, who doeth mercy to those that love Him in truth."

The seventh psalm is an entreaty that God would not remove His tabernacle from among them. He prays God to chastise them according to His will, but not to give them over to the Gentiles. His entreaty turns into exultant confidence. "We have called upon Thy name, and Thou wilt hear us. Thou wilt be merciful to the seed of Israel for ever; and Thou wilt not cast us off, for we are under Thy yoke always, and the scourge of Thy chastisement."

While some of these psalms have been written in times of what seem comparative peace, others of them, like the eighth, commence at once with the presence of war in the country: "My ear heard the sound of affliction and the noise of war, and the sound of a trumpet bearing slaughter and destruction. The sound of much people, like the sound of exceeding

much wind; like a hurricane of much fire borne through the wilderness." In the use of such figures—the rush of the wind, the crackling of the fire as it leaps from one dried-up tuft of herbage to another, which seems to be in the mind of the psalmist—we have evidence that the psalm is the product of one who had lived in the wilderness, and only came into the city because he was sent. Once seen, the spectacle implied in the figure of the psalmist would never be forgotten. Perhaps some morning in the days gone by he had been roused from slumber in his cell at Engedi by the news that the desert pasture had taken fire. With his comrades he mounts the heights above their retreat, and there, away to the south-west, is seen the conflagration advancing—tossing its fiery locks to the sky, and filling the whole heaven with its fiery glow. A high wind has risen, and, increased by the conflagration, is driving it ever nearer and nearer the palm-trees and vineyards of Engedi. The wind that whirls round the mass of flame that now crackles and now roars onward, and the flame it feeds and bears along, seem one terrible agency of evil. Only after long struggle is the enemy repulsed, and destruction averted from Engedi. To the psalmist the advance of Pompey suggests that old night of terrors when with difficulty they had rescued their nest from destruction. The heavy tramp of the soldiery, their hoarse shouting, reminds him of the rush of the hurricane and the roar of the flame. This resemblance seemed all the closer when all night long from the Roman camp to the south of the city rose up the hum of the soldiery, the tramp and shout of the

sentinels, and the red flare of the camp fires. Terror filled him because of the sound; his knees were loosed, and his bones trembled "like flax." This latter is a picturesque phrase belonging to one accustomed to the sights of the country rather than the town. He sees God's judgments coming, and acknowledges their justice because of the exceeding sinfulness of the people. Impurity seems to have been especially rife among them. "Therefore God filled them with the spirit of wandering, and made them drink wine unmixed, even to drunkenness." Then follows an account of Pompey's campaign in Judea, presenting somewhat a contrast to the account given in the second of these psalms. From the ends of the earth God "led him who smote mightily." He determined war upon Jerusalem and upon her land. The rulers of the land met him with joy. They said, "Thy march is longed for; enter in peace." They opened the gates of Jerusalem and crowned her walls. He destroyed her rulers, and every one wise in counsel. He poured forth the blood of the inhabitants of Jerusalem like water of uncleanness. He led away captive their sons and their daughters. He did unto them according to their uncleanness.

True to his invariable custom, the psalmist bursts out into a song of praise to God on account of His judgments. One would have expected that the judgments executed upon Jerusalem would have been in his mind, but it is God's judgments on the heathen—the nations of the earth. It would seem that the writer felt he had some compensation for the sorrows inflicted on Sion in the sufferings endured by other nations at the

hands of Pompey. A striking statement follows which would seem at first to indicate that the reference to the heathen was to the Greek city communities that had multiplied in the Holy Land. Only Pompey treated them with special favour at the expense of the Jews. The phrase, "Thy saints are as lambs in the midst of them." His song of praise is partly a prayer that God would gather again the dispersed of Israel, but always he falls back upon praise. "Thou art our God from the beginning, and upon Thee we hope, O Lord; upon us and upon our children is Thy good pleasure to everlasting, O Lord our Saviour. We shall never be moved: for ever and ever praised be the Lord for His judgments by the mouth of His saints; thou art blessed, O Israel, by the Lord for ever."

A large number of Israelites had been taken captives by Pompey, partly to grace his triumph, and partly to afford by their sale a largess for his soldiers. This event forms the occasion of the ninth psalm. The psalmist recognises that this banishment from their own land was the due reward of their sins. There is a clear statement of the omniscience of God: "Thou art the judge of all the earth, and no one that doeth evil is hid from Thy knowledge; and the righteousness of Thy saints is before Thee, O Lord; and where is the man that is hid from Thy knowledge?" Our author is also equally certain and clear on human responsibility that it is in the power and choice of the soul to do justice or perpetrate injustice. "He that doeth righteousness treasureth up life to himself before the Lord; he that doeth unrighteousness dooms his own

soul to destruction." God's mercy is extolled. "Thou blessest the righteous, and dost search carefully about sins. Thy goodness is about sinners for repentance." He continues his prayer: "Now, O God, we are the people whom Thou has loved; behold, and be merciful, O God of Israel, for we are Thine. Thou didst make a covenant with our fathers concerning us, and we hope in Thee for the conversion of our soul. Let the mercy of the Lord be upon Israel for ever and ever."

No one reading the canonical psalms can fail to observe the frequency with which suffering is regarded as chastisement inflicted to produce moral purity; *e.g.* Ps. xciv. 12: "Blessed is the man whom Thou chastenest, O Lord, and teachest him out of Thy law." cxix. 67: "Before I was afflicted I went astray, but now I have learned Thy law." 71. "It is good for me that I have been afflicted, that I might learn Thy statutes." Other parts of Scripture present the same features. This has evidently impressed the writer of the Psalter of Solomon. In the tenth psalm he says: "Blessed is the man whom the Lord remembereth with trial (ἐν ἐλέγχῳ), who is turned (ἐκυκλώθη) from the way of evil by the scourge, and is purified from sin that he may not be filled with it."[1] The writer even exaggerates the submission with which one ought to bear the afflictions sent upon him by God. "He who prepareth his back for the scourges shall be purified, for the Lord is good to those who submit to discipline." The reader of the Psalter of Solomon

[1] One might be tempted to read ἐκυλίσθη instead of ἐκυκλώθη if there were any MS. authority for it. Hilgenfeld thinks there is a reference in this word to ἐκύκλωσεν, Deut. xxxii. 10, LXX., where it is used to translate יְסֹבְבֶנְהוּ.

cannot fail to notice a preparation here for the gospel. This willing submission to God's dealing with us is of the nature of Christian faith. This progress is exhibited also in another way. While *fear* or *reverence* is the prominent attitude of the saint toward God in the old economy, love is the prominent attitude in the new. In the Psalter of Solomon there is a preparation for this: Love has become greatly more prominent than fear, while in Ps. ciii. 12: "Great is His mercy toward them that fear Him," a sentence that is nearly exactly parallel with ver. 42 of the psalm before us: "The mercy of the Lord is upon them that love Him in truth." Further, after speaking of the testimony of the Lord being in the law of His covenant, and praising Him for the judgments, the psalmist says: "And the saints shall confess (Him) in the assembly (ἐκκλησία) of the people; God will show mercy to the poor for (ἐν) the joy of Israel." Again the psalmist turns more immediately to praise God, because "His mercy and goodness are for ever, and the congregations (συναγωγαί) of Israel shall glorify the name of the Lord." It is impossible not to be struck by the collocation of the *church* and the *synagogue* in this passage. Evidently the first term is used for the national assembly of all the people in their civil capacity, like that at which Simon was elected high priest, whereas συναγωγή must have meant simply *synagogue*. "The salvation of the Lord is upon the house of Israel for everlasting joy."

One of the almost invariable characteristics of the apocalyptic books is the prominence of the Messianic hope. This hope assumes two forms: there is the

hope of the Messiah's coming, the hope, that is to say, of One, the Anointed of the Lord, who was to lead them to victory, and to usher in and be the personal symbol of a time of joy and happiness. Again, there is the hope of Messianic times, without the Messiah Himself being made prominent. Much as at present the millennium—the reign of Christ for a thousand years—is closely connected in some minds with the idea of a pre-millennial advent and a personal reign, while with others these two events are quite distinct, Christ may reign in spirit and in power without being present in the flesh. In the eleventh psalm we have a psalm of the Messianic time, the return of the captive and the banished of Israel from north, south, east, and west. With the prophecies of Joel evidently in his mind the psalmist begins: "Blow the signal trumpet in Zion, announce (*κηρύξατε*) in Jerusalem the voice of one proclaiming good news (*εὐαγγελιζομένου*)." To us, with Christ already come, these Messianic views are always interesting, but doubly so when the words "preach" (*κηρύσσω*) and "evangelise" (*εὐαγγελίζομαι*) occur in this connection. Jerusalem is addressed: "Behold, thy sons shall be gathered to thee by the Lord at one time from the east and the west, from the north, too, they shall come in the joy of their God, from the islands afar off shall God gather them." Now the psalmist sees them approaching: "The lofty mountains He brought low to the plain for them, the hills fled away at their approach, oaks overshadowed them in their way. God raised up every sweet-smelling tree for them in order that Israel might pass in the visitation of the glory of their

God. Put on, O Jerusalem, thy glorious garments, make ready the robe of thy holiness; for God hath spoken good concerning Israel for ever and ever.[1] Let the Lord do what He hath spoken concerning Israel, and in Jerusalem let the Lord raise up Israel by His glorious name. The mercy of the Lord is upon Israel for ever and ever." The picture of the captives freed from their chains returning to the blissful land and enjoying the shade of the spreading oak and terebinth, while sweet odours, so dear to the Oriental, are exhaled from every shrub on the wayside, is full of tender beauty and full of suggestions of the palm-trees and balsam of Engedi.

One of the great difficulties in regard to the canonical psalms is the presence among them of the psalms of imprecation. Here, too, the Solomonic psalmist follows his predecessors. The twelfth psalm is very like several of the psalms in the canonical psalter. The writer seems to have had Ps. cxx. especially before him when he said, "Save my soul from the transgressor and the evil man, from the tongue of the transgressor and the slanderer, which speaketh lies and deceit." The canonical psalmist would punish the false tongue with burning coals of juniper; but the present psalmist compares the words of the wicked to

[1] In the apocryphal Book of Baruch, not the Apocalypse, there is a passage (iv. 36, 37, v. 5–9) which bears a great resemblance to this. In it, too, the sons of Jerusalem are gathered from the four winds of heaven, and Jerusalem is called upon to look and see their approach. The smoothing of the way by the bringing down of the hills is also mentioned. In both Jerusalem is called upon to put on her glorious garments, in order in full festive joy to welcome the return of her sons. The writer of Baruch is most probably the imitator, but both may have drawn from Isa. xlix. 19–22 in connection with xl. 3, 4.

fire. "In making perversions," presumably of the words of others, "the words of the tongue of the evil men are like fire in a threshing-floor kindling its corn." It is impossible not to think of Jas. iii. 6, "the tongue is a fire." The wicked men that vexed the soul of the psalmist were possibly Sadducees. Their wickedness consisted, not in a flagitious life, but in the fact that they were Sadducees. If we had an account of Archbishop Leighton from the pen of a Cameronian, we might find the blameless prelate accused of numberless crimes. In the whole of the present psalter the wicked are the Sadducean Hellenising party, who certainly were lax in their morals; but their main crime was that they were Hellenisers and Sadducees.

After picturing how even the neighbourhood of the transgressor feels the effect of his deceitful tongue, the psalmist prays again for deliverance from its effects, not for himself only, but also for the saints of God. "The Lord put far from the innocent in their distress the lips of the transgressors, and scatter the bones of flatterers far from those that fear the Lord." In his imprecation the psalmist comes very close to the 120th Psalm: "In flame of fire[1] let the flattering tongue be destroyed from the saints. The Lord guard the tranquil soul that hateth the unjust; the Lord guide the man who makes peace at home. Would that sinners were destroyed from the presence of the Lord at once, and that the saints might inherit the promise of the Lord." This last phrase suggests the parallel phrase in the Epistle to the Hebrews, vi. 12, be

[1] Fire of flame.

"followers of them who through faith and patience inherit the promises." The writer of the Epistle most probably had read the Psalter of Solomon, and retained this phrase in his mind.

Since, from the days of Job downward the sufferings of the righteous have been a problem difficult to solve, it is not wonderful to find that it drew the attention of our psalmist. He commences Ps. xiii. with thanksgiving that God had spared him and those who like him were saints of God: "The arm of the Lord saved us from the piercing sword, from famine, and the death of sinners." He proceeds to contrast with his deliverance the fate of sinners: "Evil beasts run upon them, with their teeth they tear their flesh, in their grinders they grind their bones: from all these things the Lord saved us." It is possible that the gladiatorial combats with wild beasts may be in the eye of the psalmist. A famous passage in the Epistles of Ignatius is very like this, *Ep. ad Rom.* ix.: "I am the corn of God, and by the teeth of wild beasts am I ground, that I may be found pure bread." The figure —a daring one—is precisely the same as in the psalm before us, though the application is widely different. The most natural supposition is that Ignatius had read the Psalter of Solomon. If this verse may be regarded as suggested by the scene in the arena, it would readily enough come up to the thoughts of Ignatius travelling towards death in that way.

The psalmist, however, endeavours to prove that the latter end of the wicked is evil; the saints are chastened, but spared; the wicked are destroyed. "He will admonish the righteous as a son of His love, and

His chastisement is that of a first-born son; for the life of the righteous is to everlasting, but sinners shall be carried away to destruction, and their remembrance shall not be found for ever; but upon the saints is the mercy of the Lord." Here again seems to be an indication that conditional immortality was the view of the writer of these psalms.

The same contrast we have seen the psalmist pursuing in this psalm he continues in Ps. xiv. He declares the saints of the Lord shall live with him for ever. The paradise of the Lord, the trees of life are His saints; their plants are rooted for ever, they shall not be plucked up." He proceeds, "not thus are sinners" on account of their sins, "their inheritance is Hades and darkness and destruction, they shall not be found in the day of the mercy of the righteous." The use of paradise for heaven is to be noted, consecrated as it was afterwards by our Lord. Also the plants that were not to be plucked up suggests Matt. xv. 13, and by contrast Jude 12.

The psalmist continues still the same theme in Ps. xv., but in it laying more emphasis on the privileges of the righteous. There is one bold statement, "Why is a man strong, but to confess Thee in truth?" while the sign of God is upon the just for salvation, the sign of destruction is upon the forehead of the wicked—a statement that calls up Rev. xiii. 17, when the servants of the beast are marked in their forehead. The psalmist looks forward to a day of judgment: "sinners shall be destroyed in the day of the judgment of the Lord for ever, when God looks upon the earth in His judgment to render unto sinners to eternal duration

(*εἰς αἰῶνα χρόνου*)." This passage would almost imply the eternity of punishment. It certainly does imply a day of judgment.

The following psalm has an introspective character, which reminds one more of the mediæval monks, or perhaps still more of the quietists. "When my soul became drowsy away from the Lord little by little, I glided into destruction.[1] When I was far from God little by little my soul was poured out to death; I approached the gates of death with the sinner." He puts it more strongly, "my soul was at variance with the Lord God of Israel, except the Lord had laid hold of me in His eternal mercy." He showed how this was done: "He pricked me as with a spur to watchfulness; my Saviour and my helper at all times delivered me." He recognises that even the thoughts of the human heart are due to God. "Do not put thy mercy away from me, O God, nor the remembrance of Thee from my heart, even to death." By implication he informs us that the beauty of women was the snare he most dreaded. "Let not the beauty of a sinful woman," he prays, "cause me to go astray." It is possible that the woman in question belonged to the Sadducean party. We might imagine such a prayer offered up by a reformer of Knox's time when he had to negotiate matters with the fascinating Queen of Scots. He continues his prayer: "Direct the work of my hands in Thy fear, and keep my steps in remembrance of Thee." Much as a modern Christian, the psalmist prays to be delivered from murmuring and

[1] Reading with the cod. *καταφθορᾷ* instead of *καταφορᾷ*, *lethargy* (Fritzsche); Wellhausen: *in den Tod*, de la Cerda, *correptione somni*.

faintheartedness when he is afflicted. If only his soul is strengthened with joy, that gift will suffice him. He holds that the soul is convicted by its own rottenness. "In submission shall the righteous receive mercy from the Lord in these things."

The seventeenth psalm is the longest in the whole collection, and is the most interesting from its Messianic character. It begins with the general and political creed of the true Israelite, "the Lord is our King for ever and ever, because, in Thee, O Lord, doth our soul make its boast. We hope on God, our Saviour, because the power of our God is for ever and ever, and the kingdom of our God is to everlasting upon the heathen." The phrase "the kingdom of God" cannot fail to bring to memory Christ's parables, of which that formed the subject. He now proceeds to the exposition of this kingdom of heaven: "Thou, O Lord, didst choose David to be king over Israel; Thou didst swear to him concerning his seed for ever and ever, that Thou wouldst not exclude his kingdom from Thy sight." But sinners had come in. "They laid desolate the throne of David with shouting." He calls upon God to take vengeance on them, to render judgment upon them, and ends, "faithful is the Lord in all the judgments which He doeth upon the earth." There seems to be a reference to Antipater when, in the course of the passage above referred to, he speaks of a foreigner being raised up against "them." It may, however, be Pompey that is meant, and he suits the description given below; but to call him ἀλλότριος seems needless; there is point in calling Antipater foreign, because he wished to be reckoned

a Jew. "The lawless one made our land desolate from its inhabitants, and caused to disappear from it the young man, and the old and children at once; in his wrath and his pride[1] he sent them away to the west. He set the ruler of the land for a mockery, and he did not spare. In his alienation the enemy did proudly, for his heart was alien from our God. And all such things he did in Jerusalem, as the Gentiles do in their cities to their gods." That Pompey should act as a Gentile would need no remark; but if this could be truly said of Antipater there was cause, for he professed to be a Jew in faith. Meantime there was much sin in Jerusalem; the psalmist says: "There was not among them in the midst of Jerusalem one that did mercy and truth."

A mode of escape is afforded the saints of God. "Those that love the synagogue of the saints shall flee from them, like sparrows shall they take to flight from their assembly; they wandered in deserts that their souls might be saved from evil (*ἐπλανῶντο ἐν ἐρήμοις*). This phrase has the same ring about it as the phrase, Heb. xi. 38: *ἐν ἐρημίαις πλανώμενοι*, wandering in deserts. What difference in wording there is might be accounted for if the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews used the Hebrew original of the Solomonic Psalter. When the saints are removed, then "the heaven shall withhold the rain from dropping upon the earth, the eternal fountains from the depths of the lofty mountains shall be restrained, because there is none that doeth righteousness and judgment; from their ruler to the least of the people

[1] Following here the rendering of Wellhausen.

they are in every sin,—the king in transgression, the judge not in truth, the people in sin." Such is the picture of the state of matters in Jerusalem.

The contemplation of this leads the psalmist to pray God to send the true King, the son of David, to rule the people; to "purify,[1] in wisdom and in righteousness, Jerusalem from Gentiles walking in destruction; to cast out sinners from the inheritance; to break down their pride as vessels of the potter; to break all their substance with a rod of iron." This affords a clear proof that in the days of the later Maccabees the second canonical psalm was interpreted of the Messiah. He is "to destroy the Gentiles by the word of His mouth," which suggests the vision of the Apocalypse, where the Son of man is seen with a sharp two-edged sword proceeding out of His mouth. The next clause, which shows that when He curses the Gentiles shall flee from His face, also suggests the Apocalypse. "He shall gather together the holy people; for He shall know them, for they are all of them the sons of God. He shall distribute them in their tribes over the land. The sojourner and the foreigner shall not dwell among them any more." The psalmist sees all the Gentile cities in Palestine emptied of their Hellenic inhabitants and filled with Jews. After his conquest of Jerusalem Pompey liberated all those Hellenic cities that had been subjugated by Alexander Jannæus, hence the presence of these heathens must at this time have been doubly distasteful to the Jews. "He shall judge peoples and nations in wisdom of this righteousness. Selah."

[1] Reading *καθαρίσαι*.

But he proceeds to show the extent of the Messiah's dominion. "He shall have the peoples of the Gentiles to serve Him under His yoke; He shall glorify the Lord as a sign to all the earth, and He shall purify Jerusalem in holiness as at the beginning." The Messiah here is not merely the conqueror, but also the one "whose fan is in His hand, who will thoroughly purge His floor." He describes the coming of the nations to Sion bearing their "weakened sons as gifts," to see the glory of the Lord with which God hath glorified her. There shall be no injustice in the midst of them in those days of His, because they shall be all holy, and their king Christ the Lord." This last passage is a very striking one, suggesting at first sight a Christian interpolation; but there seems no jar in this verse as it comes in. It has been suggested that *κυρίου*, not *κύριος*, is the proper reading, in which case we should render the words, "Their king is the anointed of the Lord." Still with the Book of Enoch before us, and the superhuman dignity ascribed to the expected Messiah, it is not absolutely necessary to hold to that reading or believe the phrase an interpolation by Christian hands.

The description that follows is an indirect proof that this was written shortly after Alexander Jannæus had ended his eminently unspiritual rule. Speaking of the Messianic King: "He will not trust in horse, or rider, or bow, nor will he multiply to Himself gold and silver for war, nor collect panoplies of arms as His confidence in the day of battle. The Lord Himself is His king. He has the hope of the mighty God for confidence, and He shall place all the nations in fear

before Him; for He shall smite the earth with the word of His mouth for ever." When one remembers how Alexander was perpetually collecting mercenary soldiers and engaging in wars, now in this direction now in that, and how his son Aristobulus II. had been ready to do the same thing, we see that this description of the Messianic King was an implied rebuke to the military arrangements of the Hasmonæan monarchy. Still more unlike was it to the Herodian. That the aim of Antipater and of his family was to get the supreme power, would be perfectly obvious by the time this psalm was written. Herod's high-handed conduct in Galilee in regard to the Zealots, whom Josephus calls robbers, and his insolence to the Sanhedrin when called to account for it, were sufficient evidence that the young Idumean considered himself practically king. The kind of king he would be when he actually sat on the throne, might be easily foreseen, —he would be a worse Alexander Jannæus. From Josephus we learn, as above related, that the Essenes expected that Herod would be king.[1] The might of the Messianic King was, however, to have a Divine source. "On account of His God He shall not be weak, because God shall make Him mighty in His Holy Spirit." Here again we find a relationship between the Gospel and the Psalter, because we are informed, John iii. 34: "God giveth the Spirit by measure unto Him (Christ)." A further resemblance may be found in ver. 45: "He shall feed the flock of the Lord; He shall not leave any among them to be weak in their pasture." There may be a reference to

[1] Joseph. xv. 10. 5.

Isa. xl. 11, but at all events if so, there is also a reference to Isaiah from John x. He adds: "In holiness He shall lead them, and there shall not be among them any one arrogant to exercise authority." This sentence suggests our Lord's advice to the disciples not be called Master.

It is to be noted that teaching is one of the most prominent functions that the psalmist expects from the Messiah. "His words have been purified by fire (πεπυρωμένα) beyond the most precious gold. He shall judge in the synagogues the peoples, the tribes of the sanctified. His words shall be as words of the saints in the midst of the sanctified people. Blessed are those who shall be in those days, to see what good things God will do for Israel in the gathering together of the tribes." As he says this, the psalmist cannot refrain from expressing his longing for the speedy coming of the time when all his hopes will be realised," Let God send speedily His mercy upon Israel; save us from the impurity of our profane enemies; the Lord Himself is King for ever and ever."

This whole psalter closes doxologically in the eighteenth psalm. It begins: "O Lord, Thy mercy is over the works of Thy hands for ever, Thy goodness with rich bestowal upon Israel." But the psalmist still recognises the great doctrine, that "whom the Lord loveth He chasteneth, and scourgeth every one that He receiveth."[1] So he says, "Thy love is upon the seed of Abraham, the sons of Israel. Thy chastisement of us is of a first-born son." His thoughts, however, are always directed to the coming

[1] Heb. xii. 6; Prov. iii. 12, LXX.

of the Messiah, and his prayer for the purification of Israel is "for the day of election in the rule of His anointed. Blessed are they who shall be in those days to see the good things of the Lord which He shall do for the generation to come, under the rod of the instruction of the Lord Christ in the fear of His God." This phrase shows, that while the Messiah was in some sense of the word κύριος (or Jehovah), He is yet in some way distinct *from* God. The Messiah was to do this "in the spirit of wisdom and of righteousness and of might." The psalm ends with a doxology after the model of the eighth of our canonical psalms: "Great is our God and glorious, who dwelleth in the Highest, who arrangeth in their course the lights of heaven, according to their seasons from day to day, and they passed not from the path which Thou didst command them." They have not swerved from their path from the day that God created them, and shall not for ever "except God shall command them by injunction of His servants." The psalmist sees Joshua causing the sun and moon to stand still, and Isaiah sending the shadow backward, and recognises that this does not lessen the proof of God's power, but enhances it.

We have delayed longer over the Psalter of Solomon than would seem necessary from its relative size, because of the many points of contact with the New Testament which appear in feeling and diction. The Psalmist must have been emphatically one of those that looked for the redemption of Israel.

CHAPTER VII.

THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

THE writer of the Apocalypse of Baruch, we saw, modelled his work on the prophecies of Isaiah and Jeremiah, with some elements drawn from more directly apocalyptic works. The writer of the Psalter of Solomon followed in the track of the canonical psalms, with apocalyptic elements added. In the Book of Jubilees we have to do with a writer who followed a model different from that of either of the former two. He takes as his basis the old historical books, especially the Pentateuch, and he enriches and adorns the history of these books with all the fruits of a bizarre fancy. The writer of the Psalter, we saw, was in Jerusalem, and, like him, the writer of the Book of Jubilees is a dweller in cities. Unlike the other writers we have had to consider, the writer of the Book of Jubilees has regard to an external adverse, or, at least, critical public, and consequently his work has very much the character of an apologetic. He foresees objections that might be urged against the possibility of certain events narrated in the Mosaic record; or, again, he knows that in some points the morality of his own age has advanced beyond that of the days of the patriarchs; but he cannot admit that in so many words he must soften

the record, so that the moral delinquency may be minimised. In fact, the Book of Jubilees is very much made up of *midrashim*—moral stories made upon sacred characters.

Like other Essenes, the writer is well acquainted with the earlier sacred and secret books of the sect, especially with the Book of Enoch. At the same time, he must have been accustomed to the methods pursued in the Pharisaic schools. Not improbably from being educated as a Pharisee he had become an Essene; but, from his apologetic efforts, another deduction may be made,—he was one who did not look askance on the learning of the Greeks. Josephus has told us that the Essenes were influenced by the Pythagoreans. It is quite in harmony with this to find that such importance is attached to numbers, especially to the number seven.[1] Further, as the Greeks had arranged their chronology according to Olympiads, he thought that among themselves, as Hebrews, they had a much more complete and comprehensive mode of calculation than that adopted by the Greeks in the jubilee, or period of forty-nine years divided into seven periods or weeks of years.

To appreciate fully the nature of this Book of Jubilees and its aims, one must endeavour to realise the circumstances in which in all likelihood it was written. The perpetual presence of some of the Herodian family in Rome made Judaism a subject of curiosity among the *literati* of the city. This curi-

[1] At the same time, while numbers are important in the Book of Jubilees, this importance has not the character of that ascribed to numbers among the Neo-Pythagoreans.

osity was not likely to be decreased by the progress which the "pernicious superstition" made among the maids and matrons of the Roman aristocracy. Moreover, Rome was not the only part of the Western Gentile world visited by the Herodians. Schürer gives inscriptions, chronicling the munificence of Herod Antipas, that had been put up in Delos and Cos. This grandeur of the Herodians naturally spread yet further the curiosity above suggested. It led to Gentiles visiting Jerusalem, and criticising the faith and worship there as freely as an Englishman does the habits and customs of the Hindoos. Moreover, there was a gathering of such men as Nicolaus of Damascus round the Herodian court, and their sneering scepticism would have to be met. One can easily imagine how the polished taunts of those Greeks would rankle in the minds of the Jews, especially of those who had any tincture of Hellenism. It would be hard to endure when some Greekling, with arching eyebrow and a contemptuous adjustment of his philosophic gown, hinted that surely they must be very credulous to believe that miracles could have been wrought for them. In an age infected with illumination, as was the age of our Lord, no taunting accusation was more difficult to bear than that of credulity. The object of the writer is thus not that of Philo to commend Judaism to those outside, but rather to meet the effects of their scepticism as witnessed in the younger followers of the Jewish faith, who were moved by the brilliance of these strangers to have doubts as to the truth of what had been told them of the history of their forefathers, and of the nobility of

those characters they were called upon to admire so much.

In similar circumstances in our day, one who was moved by the state of matters would perhaps write a treatise to defend his view of things. If the person were a lady, she would write, not a treatise, but a novel, in which her own opinions were either advocated or exemplified, and the doleful results in character and circumstance of not holding with her duly set forth by woful example. Dry and distasteful as learned treatises are to the youth of the present day, the Jewish treatise of the time of which we speak was even more fitted to be distasteful, if we may take the Mishna as giving anything like a fair sample of what the doctors of the law wrote. Nothing could be less fitted to work conviction in the heart of any youth infected by the philosophy and art of Greece than these elaborate quotations of traditional opinions grounded on hairsplitting interpretations of texts. The religious novel is not an invention of the nineteenth century, nor the historical either; so the apologist, who felt that treatises after the manner of the *Sedar Olam* would be worse than ineffective, could betake himself to *Hagada.* In fact, his most natural plan was to give a *Hagadic Targum* of the events on which doubt was thrown, and insinuate interpretations that would turn aside the force of adverse criticism, or suggest additional circumstances that were fitted to alter the moral complexion of an action.

All this is attempted in the Book of Jubilees. After giving the title of the book in full, according

to the genuine Oriental style, the author proceeds to give an account of its origin. Moses, in the first year of the Exodus, the third month and the sixteenth day of the month, went up into Mount Sinai. God declares to him generally the principles of His moral government much as we find these given in the Book of Deuteronomy. Then God addressed the "angel of the presence," and commanded him to write out for Moses a history of creation, and of everything that had taken place up till the time then present. We may note that "the angel of the presence" is referred to in Isa. lxiii. 9: "the angel of His presence saved them." By later Judaism, the angel of the presence was identified with the Metatron,[1] by others with the Archangel Michael, who again is identified with the Metatron. Later Christian interpretation sees in this the Second Person of the Trinity. Certainly it suits what we feel to be the function of the Son in the economy of redemption. In the Book of Jubilees, however, it is merely the highest of the angels that is in the thought of the writer.[2]

The source from which the angel of the presence draws the information he imparts to Moses is the "Tablets of the Heavens," which are referred to in Enoch, and still more in the later apocalyptic books. The writer of the book before us had evidently the notion that there, away up in the presence of God, everything that took place, or was to take place, was solemnly recorded, —a view we ourselves in these days hold, though in a

[1] Rabbi Elias, Tishbi, in Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. chap. vii.; Jalkut Rubeni.

[2] Compare also the *Memra Jehovah* of the Targums, and Philo's *Logos*.

form externally slightly different; we recognise that every event has an effect at once on the moral condition of the intelligent agent producing or witnessing it, and on external nature, and that, given sufficient acuteness of vision and intellect, the story of the world may be read back, and everything that has occurred fully reconstructed. We can understand this suggestion of revelation to Moses as brought forward to explain how Moses knew what took place on the day of creation, or even in those early prediluvial days when men upon the earth were few, and from whom the present days were cut off by the catastrophe of the Flood.

The angel of the presence then proceeds to give an account of the events of creation—not merely the creation of external nature, but also of the angels. In the main, the story of creation agrees in this latter point with the Rabbinic ideas of the prevalence of which we see some traces in the Book of Revelation. Angels of the elements are created, angels of praise, "the angels of hoar frost," and "the angels that cry 'Holy.'"[1] At the same time there seems something of confusion; the angel of the presence, himself thus created, speaks of seeing God's works and praising Him.

It may be that this old Jewish idea, that every force in nature has its own angel, is not so far amiss. After all, when we go to the root of the matter, all force is really spiritual, and may it not be that individual spirits direct special forces? They may act freely and

[1] For the Rabbinic view, see Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, ii. chap. vii.

intelligently, and yet their acts be calculable as according to law. In fact, the wiser a man is, the more are his actions calculable and the more his whole life is under law.

The writer continues his narrative in the person of this angel of the presence, and narrates the works created on each successive day in accordance with the first chapter of Genesis. Only when he comes to the creation of light on the fourth day, he asserts that these lights were for Sabbaths and festivals as well as for the more ordinary measurements of time. He is so thoroughly a Jew, that every festival has for him its origin in the heavens, and is written down on the tablets there. On the sixth day he relates the creation of Adam; and, anticipating Darwinism, regards the first pair as contained in the individual.

In thoroughly Rabbinic fashion he informs us that there were twenty-two kinds of works created by the end of the sixth day. Further, he notifies the fact that there were twenty-two generations of men before the founding of Israel as a nation. The real reason of this twenty-two fold arrangement is probably the fact that there are twenty-two letters in the Hebrew alphabet. After narrating this he dwells some time on the sanctity of the Sabbath and the blessedness that follows Sabbath observance.

In the third chapter the creation of woman is reached. The facts are stated very much as in the Bible, with some ornamentation. One very characteristic addition is made to this part of the narrative. After narrating that woman was created during the second week, "therefore," says our author, "was

the command given to observe their defilement, seven days for a male child and fourteen days for a female." The writer does not show any logical connection to justify the use of the word "therefore." Even the minutest Levitical injunction is in the mind of the writer of the highest import, and transcribed from the tablets in the Heavens. Thus the eighty days of seclusion enjoined by Lev. xii. at the birth of a female child were symbolised by the eighty days that were said to elapse between the creation of Adam and that of Eve.

Having laid down these ceremonial explanations of things alleged to have happened, our author now proceeds to show what was the employment of our first parents in the garden. In regard to this it may be noted that Adam has to watch the garden and keep it from being assailed by beasts of the field, which implies that in the author's opinion the lower animals were not absolutely innocuous before the fall of man. This view of matters, one may remark, is amply confirmed by geology, which proves that the strong preyed upon the weak away back in those early geologic days when the ichthyosauri swam in the oolitic sea. The story of the Fall is related with little addition but the apologetic note, that before the Fall all animals could speak. It is to be observed that the *protevangelium* is not mentioned at all. There is nothing of the solemn driving out from the garden of our first parents, nor of the presence of the cherubim with the fiery sword that guarded every way to the tree of life.

Scripture omits to tell us what was Adam's age when Cain or Abel was born, or what was the name of his

eldest daughter; but these omissions are supplied in the Book of Jubilees. It was between the 63rd and the 70th year of Adam's life that Cain was born, and between the 70th and the 77th that Abel was born, and between the 77th and the 84th that Awân, his eldest daughter, was born. When the story of the death of Abel is given, the solemn cursing is omitted, and the whole matter is condensed. Cain it seems married Awân. After a season of mourning for Abel, prolonged as befitted those who had nigh a millennium to come and go on, Seth is born, and then a sister Azûra to be his wife. Another fact not generally known which our author conveys to us is that Adam and Eve had nine other sons. Having mentioned the birth of Cain's son Enoch, he carries down the genealogy of the line of Seth to the birth of the Sethite Enoch. In the course of this genealogy he is able to tell us, not only the name of the wife of each successive antediluvian, but also her father's name. As to the date of the birth, of course that is given in the Scriptures, but it is arranged according to jubilees. The descent of the "watchers" is referred to in passing. In regard to Enoch, the writer naturally becomes eloquent. He is the great father of all apocalyptic learning. His wife, we are told, is Edna, daughter of Daniel. The name of Enoch's father-in-law is to be remarked as being the same as that of the apocalyptist of the Old Testament. From that point on to the history of Noah events follow simply in accordance with the Bible narrative. After this we are told of the death of Adam; and after remarking that he lacked seventy years of the thousand, "A thousand years

are one day in the testimony of Heaven; and therefore was it written concerning the tree of knowledge, On the day thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die." About the same time Cain also died—a stone fell on him from the roof of his house and slew him, because he had killed Abel with a stone.

With the fifth chapter begins the account of the events which led to the Flood. The mysterious subject, the relationship between the sons of God and the daughters of men, was an unfailing object of speculation to the apocalyptists. The corruption, begun thus by those "watchers" who were sent to lead men in ways of justice and truth, spread through all the creatures; even animals are said to have corrupted their way before the Lord. It is to be presumed that this is introduced to explain why all the animals perished in the waters. The writer naturally dwells a good deal on the preaching of Noah.

The birth and fate of the giants are enlarged upon. The natural interpretation of the narrative in Genesis is certainly that the giants or *nephalim* were the same as the mighty men who were of old the progeny of the mysterious union of the sons of God and the daughters of men, though there is at least a possibility that a distinction is implied. The writer of the book before us has no doubt that the giants are the sons of the angels. "When God saw that all flesh had corrupted its way before Him, He did not leave the Flood to cleanse the earth, but sent a sword into the midst of the inhabitants, and so each one of those giants slew his neighbour. And those angels who had left their own ranks, whom He had sent upon the earth to instruct men,

them He caused to be bound in the depths of the earth until the coming of the great day of judgment. Their sufferings were aggravated by seeing their sons slaying each other. This representation of the fate of these rebellious angels, and the reason of that fate, is in strict harmony with the statement in the Book of Enoch quoted in the Epistle of Jude. To this is added the peculiarly Calvinistic doctrine, "and the judgment of all is ordained and written in the tablets of heaven."

Little is added to the actual account of the Flood; but when Noah comes out of the ark, we are told that he took "a young kid and atoned by its blood for all the guilt of the earth, because everything that had been in it was destroyed." Somehow the author regards the earth as guilty of this slaughter. This was really the heathen idea that homicide, however unwitting it might be, demanded an atonement. The very idea of the cities of refuge, while it implied this fundamental notion, also implied a conflict with it. Noah's sacrifice is fully described as in every particular in accordance with the approved Levitical method. The Lord's smelling a sweet savour has no moral meaning given to it; it is simply the effect of the odour. On smelling this sweet savour the Noachian covenant is announced and the Noachian precepts given. This leads to a long digression as to eating with blood, —one of the Noachian prohibitions,—and how certain of Noah's descendants were guilty in this matter; but the "angel of the presence" renewed the covenant with Abraham. In passing, the "angel of the presence" intimates that the feast of first-fruits was observed by Noah. The feast of new moon had its origin in various

facts in Noah's experience during the days of the Flood. The author considers the month to have only twenty-eight days, and, reckoning thirteen months to the year, calculates it to be 364 days. A few verses further on the angel announces it to Moses as a crime of which the Israelites of the future would be guilty, that they would "make the year only 364 days;" it is probable that we should read here *354* days, the ordinary lunar year still in use among the Mohammedans. The Greeks—and following them the Romans till the changes introduced by Julius Cæsar—had made use of a lunar year corrected by intercalary months, hence the obvious reference is to the abandonment of the old vague year of about 360 days, which the Jews had brought with them from Egypt, for the year of the Greeks.

The drunkenness of Noah and the sin of Ham which followed are narrated as in Scripture. We are further informed that Ham, displeased because his father had cursed his son Canaan, separated himself from his father along with his sons. Japheth followed his example. When his descendants were thus beginning to separate themselves, Noah gave them his parting counsels, which consist very much in reiterating the covenant God had made with him, and repeating to them the course of the history of the race, laying particular stress on the sins of the "heavenly watchers;" and it he uses as a warning against fornication. He enjoins also a year of release, but places it in the fifth, not the seventh year.

After this there is an account of the division of the race evidently founded on the scriptural account, but made obscure by additions and by the change names

have undergone in being transferred from Hebrew, or Aramaic, to Ethiopic, through the medium of Greek. In the course of his narrative the writer is unable to conceal his patriotic prejudice for Jerusalem. "Mount Sion is the centre—the *omphalos* of the earth;" presumably to explain the early knowledge of astronomy his narrative implies, he informs his readers that Kainan the son of Arphaxad "found a writing which his forefathers had engraved upon a rock," which he translated and found to contain the astrology taught to men by the "watchers." In the Book of Enoch this wisdom taught by the "watchers" is regarded as sinful.

Evil, however, multiplied upon the earth, and the sons of Noah who had left him came to him to make known their evil case, how they were led astray by demons. He prayed for them to the Lord of spirits. His prayer would have been answered by the binding of all those evil spirits, but Mastema (Satan), their chief, pled that they had a function in regard to men who were corrupting their way, so there is still left to his sway one-tenth of his followers, and these he promised to keep in strict discipline. In order, further, to limit the power of the demons, the "angel of the presence" explained to Noah the use of medicines. All disease was thought to proceed from demoniac influence, hence medicine must have a spiritual source also.

Mastema, however, led men to sin, to build the tower of Babel, and to worship graven images. This leads to the introduction of Abraham, who manifests his spiritual prowess, first, in securing the fields of his father from birds sent by Mastema. Abraham became

convinced of the falsity of idols, and strives to convert his father; but, so far as practice was concerned, in vain. Abraham then burned the house of idols, and his brother Haran was consumed in the conflagration. After this the command came to Abraham to depart; and before his actual departure God sent the "angel of the presence" to open his heart to make him know wisdom. He spoke to him, he says in Hebrew; a statement which seems to imply that it was not in Hebrew our book was written.

Lot accompanies Abraham to Palestine. All the occurrences in the history of Abraham are given with comparatively small variation from the Bible narrative. One thing to be noted is, that the writer is careful to insert little remarks on the fulfilment of Levitical ceremonies which evidently are regarded by him as more important than anything else in the Divine Law. This tendency has, of course, full play in regard to the rite of circumcision. Among other matters he informs us that the holy angels are created circumcised. It seems that in consequence of Israel thus being a nation consecrated to God, while other nations were put under the control of separate, angelic rulers, God Himself was the ruler of Israel,—a view of matters that is somewhat at variance with that in Daniel. Notwithstanding the honour which this ordinance secured to them, it was announced to Abraham that his descendants would abandon it—an evident reference to the Hellenists.

After Hagar and Ishmael were dismissed, Mastema came into the presence of God, as Satan does in the prologue to Job, to move God to try Abraham. In

Mastema's approach to God there is not the sneering contempt exhibited by Satan in Job. He makes no suggestion that Abraham is not honest and true in his love of God, but only that it would be a test—a crowning test of his love to God—to demand that he offer up his son upon the altar. As we all know, Abraham stood the test. But the writer regards many other events in Abraham's history as trials; for after the death of Sarah he says, "This is the tenth trial with which Abraham was tempted, and he was found faithful." Before his death Abraham addressed advices to his son Isaac, after warning him against idolatry; in passing, he devotes his time to explaining the proper mode of offering sacrifice.

The account of the death of Abraham is made the occasion for more ceremonial tradition. The event itself is rather strikingly told. He called his grandson Jacob to him, and after exhorting him he took Jacob's fingers and with them closed his own eyes and stretched himself. Jacob remained leaning on his grandfather's bosom with his fingers on his eyes, and in that position fell asleep. When he awoke he found that Abraham was cold and dead.

How Jacob bargained for the birthright is narrated with no sense of the unfairness of the dealing. His obtaining the blessing by deceiving his father is told, but there is an attempt to minimise his guilt. When Jacob comes in with the mess of savoury meat to his father, in answer to his question, "Who art thou, my son?" Jacob says, "I am thy son." When, afterwards, Esau receives from his father the modified blessing, Isaac adds, after saying that he would break Jacob's yoke

from his neck, "thou shalt commit a sin unto death, and thy seed shall be rooted out from under heaven;" a statement that evidently has reference to the usurpation of the throne of Judea by the Herodians.

The story of Jacob's life and journey to Padanaram is given much as it is in Scripture, with certain additions. On the return of Jacob, accompanied by his family, we have more additions to the sacred narrative. The sin of Shechem is increased by the assertion that Dinah was only twelve years old. And there is no mention of the Shechemites being circumcised, so that the treachery of the action of Simeon and Levi is quietly passed over. Levi is of necessity prominent in the narrative; he has a dream of the future exaltation of his tribe to be priest to all Israel. And when the family went to Bethel, Jacob called upon Levi to exercise the priest's office and offer sacrifice. On going to visit his father Isaac, too, the two sons whom Jacob takes with him are Judah and Levi.

There are two incidents narrated fully, both of which may be looked upon as having an apologetic aim, but in different directions. In the account of Joseph's visit to his father (Gen. xlviii. 22), Jacob says to his favourite son, "I have given thee one portion above thy brethren which I took out of the hand of the Amorite with my sword and with my bow." The full account of this transaction—not mentioned elsewhere—is given in the book before us. While Jacob, accompanied by Levi, Judah, and Joseph, was with his father, news was brought to him that seven kings of the Amorites had assembled their forces to assail his sons and rob them of their flocks and herds.

"And he arose from the house, and his three sons and the young men of his father, and went forth and went against them, eight hundred men that drew sword; and they slew them in the fields of Shechem, and pursued those that fled, and slew them with the edge of the sword." Then we are told that Jacob was more powerful than his neighbours, and laid a tax upon them. The tradition that thus localised the conquest of Jacob in Shechem is evidently followed by the Apostle John in the fourth Gospel (John iv. 5), in which he describes the well at Sychar as "near to the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph."

The other event alleged to have taken place has no justification in the text of Scripture. It is very probable that non-Israelites would not be slow to express greater admiration for Esau, the bold, frank warrior, than for Jacob, the sly, unwarlike shepherd. Every Jewish apologist surrounded by heathens would require to meet this in some way. The most obvious way to the Jew of that period was to invent a *Midrash* in which Esau appeared sly and cowardly, and Jacob open and chivalrous. This evidently is the reason which has prompted the invention of the tale we find in chap. xxxvii. Before the death of Isaac, Rebecca, then a-dying, endeavoured to render future quarrel between her sons impossible by making them swear friendship. They both did so; Esau was profuse in his protestations. Isaac on his death urged the same thing on them, ending with "my judgment shall come upon the man who desires to do evil against his brother." Notwithstanding, the funeral obsequies were

barely over when the sons of Esau urged their father to break his oath and assail Jacob. After a weak, half-hearted protest he yielded to his sons, and commenced to prepare to assail Jacob and his sons. The sons of Esau hired to themselves a thousand chosen warriors from Aram, a thousand from Moab and Ammon, from the Philistines one thousand fighting men, from the Edomites and Horites one thousand fighting men, and also from the Hittites. When they approached, Jacob was lamenting over the death of Leah his wife. He was warned of their approach by the men of Hebron, and, mounting on a tower, he reminded Esau of his promise; but Esau repudiated the promise, and declared lasting hatred against Jacob and against his seed. Then Judah called upon his father to shoot with his bow. And he shot with his bow, and his first arrow killed his brother Esau, his second arrow killed Adôran,[1] the leader of the Arameans. Taking advantage of the consternation caused by this slaughter of the chiefs, the sons of Jacob came out from each of the four sides of the tower in which they had taken refuge, accompanied by their servants, and discomfited their enemies, and pursued the Edomites to Mount Seir. And Jacob buried his brother Esau in Mount Aduram. "And in the mountain of Seir the sons of Jacob overcame the sons of Esau, and made them bend their necks, so that they became the servants of the sons of Jacob." They were permitted to become tributaries to the sons of Jacob. Ex-

[1] This name appears in the Ambrosian Latin as *Adoramaronumenon*, a form that suggests that the writer of the Ambrosian had the Aramaic before him.

aggerated as this is, it is reasonableness itself compared with later Jewish legends. Actual armies had been seen, and the space they must occupy had been estimated; armies of fifty or sixty thousand—common enough numbers in later *Midrashim*—were recognised to be out of the question. Judaism had not become monastic.

The fate of Joseph is narrated, but the envy and cruelty of his brethren are quite omitted from the story. All that we have is the colourless statement, "When Joseph was seventeen years old they took him to Egypt and sold him to Potiphar, a eunuch of Pharaoh, chief of his cooks." Potiphar really seems to have been chief of the bodyguard, who, as in Eastern courts, was also *ex eo officio* chief of the executioners. The story of Joseph's temptation—of his false imprisonment—of his interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams and his consequent release—is related much as the narrative of the inspired books gives it us. One peculiarity that should be noted is, that Joseph's father-in-law is identified with his first master. He is called "sacrificer of Heliopolis, chief of the cooks;" the second title is precisely that we saw was given to Joseph's first master. From this it follows that the writer regarded *eunuch* as simply equivalent to officer. It may be remarked that among the Essenes the priests were the cooks. There are, of course, some additions and exaggerations. Thus we are told that such was the plenty in Egypt in the years of plenty, that for one measure there were eighteen. Further, that in the same year that Joseph stood before Pharaoh, Isaac died.

After this comes the shameful story of Judah's sin

with his daughter-in-law. It is true the writer makes Judah repent of his sins; but he is sorry not for the fornication of which he was guilty, but because it by accident happened to be also incest. Thus commences the account of the events that led the sons of Israel and their fathers to go down to Egypt. In the main, the tale is the same as that in Genesis. We must give one noticeable example of the apologetic aim of the author which appears in regard to Joseph's meeting with his brethren. He cannot imagine that Joseph can swear "by the life of Pharaoh," nor that he will claim the power of divination. The former phrase is simply omitted, the latter is softened down: "Think you not that one who drinks out of a cup values it?" There is an account given of the descendants of Jacob that went down with their father to Egypt which has an indirect interest, as it reveals the changes the names assumed in filtering through Aramaic, Greek, and Ethiopic. The fact that the Ethiopic translator had before him, not an Aramaic or Hebrew text, but a Greek one, is made clear. Some little touches of information are given us. Dan, it seems, had five sons, four of whom died the year they went down into Egypt. Another son more than is given in the Hebrew is ascribed to Naphtali — he also died unmarried in Egypt. In consequence, the number of the souls that went down into Egypt has to be amended accordingly. Evidently the seventy sons of Israel were regarded as having a reference to the seventy nations into which the Gentile world was supposed to be divided.

When the author comes to narrate the death of

Jacob, he merely tells us that he blessed his sons, but gives no particular account of the blessing as differentiated to each of the several sons. In writing this the author seems either not to have himself held the Messianic hope of his nation, or, like Josephus, feared to bring it before strangers. The latter seems the more probable. Around the court are those scoffing Greek sophists; and the youth are so enamoured of them and of their methods that any suggestion he makes will be tried by these Gentile methods. Now, if one thinks of the Messianic hopes of Judaism as commonly held by the Jewish people at the time, one easily sees how utterly absurd they might be made to appear. The Jews were a small despised nation, and had been subject to one empire after another for more than half a millennium; that they should have a king who not only would be able to deliver them from the Roman yoke—a thing unlikely enough—but would enable them to tread all Gentile nations under foot, the very statement of such a belief would be enough to evoke ridicule; so the Messianic hopes of the Jews are kept in the background; yet there are not wanting indications that the author himself believed in a future more glorious than the past.

When the author comes to the death of Joseph, he mentions some events not otherwise known, but which seem like the echoes of real traditions. When Joseph made his brethren promise to carry his bones with them into Canaan, the author adds: "For he knew that the Egyptians would not again bring out his bones and bury them in the land of Canaan; for

Memkerôn, the king of Canaan, while he dwelt in Asur, made war in the valley with the king of Egypt, and killed him there, and pursued the Egyptians to the gates of Erômôn. But he was unable to enter, for a second new king ruled over Egypt, and he was more powerful than he; and he returned to the land of Canaan, and the gates of Egypt were locked, and no one entered Egypt." This looks like an account of some disastrous campaign undertaken by the last shepherd king against the Hittites. It is implied that this overthrow in Palestine was followed by revolution, and the Ramesside sovereigns succeeded to the Hyksos dynasty. Rameses II. has so thoroughly mutilated and destroyed the monuments of the dynasty preceding his own, that we really know nothing of what happened.

The oppression endured by the Israelites is, of course, described, but in a very condensed way. It may be presumed that the Egyptian bondage was not a thing that these later Jews would look back on with pride. A passage from Manetho declares that the Israelites were cast out of Egypt as being leprous. It may be that the writer had got access to Manetho, and found the story quoted by Josephus, and also an account of this early war against the Hittites. When the records of the Hittite kingdom are read, it is not impossible that some more light may be thrown on the event here referred to.

The account of the oppression leads naturally to the saving of Moses by Tarmûth, the daughter of Pharaoh. Josephus calls her Thermuthis — another proof that the writer of the Book of Jubilees and

Josephus were using the same set of authorities. The present writer, differing from the Scripture, assigns Hebrew maidens to the princess. In the account of Moses' own life, which is related to him by the angel of the presence as if it were the life of a third party, save that the second personal pronoun is used, Moses has not, according to the Book of Jubilees, the splendid and romantic history attributed to him by Josephus. This difference shows that the one author did not copy from the other. Most readers of the Scripture have felt a difficulty in comprehending the transaction related in Ex. iv. 24, where it is said that the Lord met Moses, "and sought to slay him." The author endeavours to simplify the matter by attributing this desire to slay Moses to Mastema. "Thou knowest what the prince Mastema desired to do with thee when thou returnedst to Egypt." The object of Mastema is to save the Egyptians from the hands of Moses. All through the plagues of Egypt Mastema was present resisting Moses. He helped the sorcerers in their imitation of Moses' miracles, and strove to throw Moses into the hands of Pharaoh. The angels of God, however, interposed, and bound Mastema for five days, so that he should not accuse the children of Israel. Then he was let loose, in order that he should induce the Egyptians to pursue the Israelites. The story of the death of the first-born of Egypt—their falling before the sword of the destroying angel—is told in accordance with the Scripture narrative, but in a way incomparably more bald and less sublimely impressive. Very striking is

the fact, that while the scriptural accounts mention the death of the son of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, —and that such an event occurred is proved by the inscriptions,—the present writer does not know of the famous Seti II., the son in question. Although the scriptural description of the institution of the Passover gives one the feeling that this act of worship at any rate might be done wherever the worshippers happened to be, in the Book of Jubilees it is expressly enjoined on the children of Israel that the lamb be slain at the door of the tabernacle.

The last chapter is wholly occupied with an explanation and enforcing of the Sabbath law. The strictness of the observance enjoined is more than Pharisaic, and suggests all that Josephus said of the Essene strictness in regard to this matter: "Whoever lights a fire, rides upon a beast, or travels by ship upon the sea, who contends or engages in war on the Sabbath day: the man that does any of these things on the Sabbath day shall die." Such a fanatical observance of the Sabbath would have been impossible even for the Pharisees; it would only be possible for the Essenes in their solitude. Probably there were ways of granting dispensations for those who were in cities.

Such, then, is the Book of Jubilees.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.

TO those that dwelt in the quiet seclusion of Engedi, it was but natural that as they gazed on the mountain of Moab, now black against the rosy sky of the morning, and now all golden in the fading glories of evening, they should think of Moses the man of God, who somewhere in the clefts of those mountains had been laid to rest by God Himself. How often must they have fancied they saw the great lawgiver gazing with undimmed eye on the lovely land he was not permitted to enter. To him to whom so much had been revealed, they would be prone to believe that yet more than they read of had been made known. If God had unveiled to him the mystery of creation, and had shown him the earth, without form and void, under the Divine plastic hand assuming beauty and grace, surely the future would not be hid from him. As God had shown him the vision of creation, would He not also show him the completion of creation in the Messianic glories of the new heaven and new earth? He had seen the Holy Land from Lebanon on the north to the mountain of Edom, would the future fate of that land be hid from him? Such thoughts as these would often be present in the minds of those secluded worshippers.

Remove the trammels of prose and fact, and dreams may become reality, possibility may become inextricably mixed up with actuality; that which is not becomes as though it were. The thought of Moses mounting up that lonely hill grew in clearness as they contemplated it; they see him, they hear his voice. As Elisha had followed Elijah up those same slopes, they could not believe but that with Moses went up also Joshua his faithful friend and servant; and if Joshua, would not Caleb also follow, if only afar off? And as usual one more than another would have his imagination excited by these thoughts. His imagination might receive a further spur if, as we suppose, the "Little Genesis," the "Book of Jubilees," had already been written, and was being used for the education of the younger members of the Essenian community. The result of these thoughts and dreams was the Assumption of Moses.

When Moses was a hundred and twenty years old, and four hundred and seventy years[1] had elapsed since their fathers had gone down to Egypt, Moses had repeated the law given in Sinai with such alterations as suited the altered circumstances into which the nation was soon to pass. The people of Israel were now gathered on the banks of Jordan; before them lay the land promised to the fathers. Moses had blessed them tribe by tribe, and encouraged them to look forward to a glorious time in the future; there is one, however, whom he must specially strengthen,

[1] All that is in the MS. at this point is—mus—mus—mus. We would read I. mus, LXX. mus, CCCC. mus. Volkmar's suggestion of XL. mus and XXX. mus has little in its favour.

Joshua, who is to succeed him in the leadership. Moses knows that he himself is straightway to die, but there is no jealousy for his own fame lest it should be lost in that of Joshua. God in the tabernacle had singled out Joshua to lead the people into the land He had promised to their fathers, and that is enough.

Now Moses addresses and exhorts him to be strong, and to play the man; and having done so, assigns a reason for this exhortation, "because God has created the world on account of His people.[1] He did not begin His creation, or from the beginning make it manifest, that the heathen might be converted, and humbly convince themselves in their arguments with each other." The world only existed for Israel. These heathen philosophers, whom some of the solitaries studied, spoke about the world beginning with water or air; but the world was not created for their speculation, but for the sake of Israel. He might well then be bold and play the man. Moses, however, has another argument—he himself had been chosen and formed, thought out (*excogitavit*), in order to be the mediator (*μεσίτης*) of the covenant. God foresaw (*προεθεάσατο*) him from before the foundation of the world (*πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου*). He, Moses, had been so chosen and strengthened; and now Joshua, having been chosen, might have good confidence in playing the man, for God would be on his side. We see here the absolute preordination implied in this, a hyper-Calvinism, in short, that has something of the sublimity of reach, that all Calvinism has. This

[1] Baruch.

suits thoroughly the representation which Josephus gives of the theological position of the Essenes.[1]

But, further, he announces to Joshua his approaching death, and tells him that he will relate the things that are to come to the consummation of all things. He requires of him to arrange and embalm (*hedriabis*)[2] the writings which he shall give him, and "put them in a vessel of earth, and hide them in a place prepared for them from the creation, that his name might be called upon—laid up for the day of repentance—when God shall look upon His people at the end of the days." The writer evidently adds this to explain the discovery of this prophecy. We can imagine the strange mingling of fanatical piety and a taste for forgery which led the man to write out in crabbed characters what really was the solemn exhortation to his fellows, and then wander away up those Moabite mountains and hide the writing in an earthen vessel in some cranny of the rock. After sufficient time had elapsed to make the earthen vessel look mouldy and old, and the parchments grow musty,—though he had prepared for them being found fresh by the embalment,—he allures some of his fellow solitaries away up the mountain, and as arranged by this pious man, they find the Book of the Prophecy of Moses. It is brought back to Engedi with great triumph, and opened with reverence and read with awe.

The prophecy proper commences, "Behold,[3] now they shall by thee enter into the land which God

[1] *Antiq.* xiii. 5. 9.

[2] Hilgenfeld, καθάρσεις.

[3] The words here are awanting; they are supplied by Hilgenfeld καὶ νῦν; Fritzsche, *et nunc*. We have followed Volkmar, as his suggestion is more in accordance with Hebrew usage.

decreed and promised to give to their fathers." This revelation was itself fitted to encourage Joshua. But Moses now looks farther into the future, "And thou shalt bless them, and shalt divide[1] to each tribe his portion, and confirm them in their lot, and assure[2] to them the rule;[3] and thou shalt in judgment and righteousness hand over the local authority to them, according to what shall please their God.[4] But they, after they have been in the land [five][5] years, shall be then ruled over by judges and kings for eighteen and nineteen years." It is obvious enough that it is not merely ordinary years that are here intended; the time would be too short. The most diverse opinions have been held as to the space meant by this "year." If we were to judge merely *à priori*, *seven years* might be thought a probable number; it would certainly harmonise with the representation in the Book of Jubilees, so far at least that a week of years is one of the units in that book. It will not, however, suit the period to be occupied. Langen suggests that the period intended is ten years. In that case the first period of five years may be regarded as indicating the period of Joshua and of the elders that outlived Joshua. From the death of Joshua to the death of Samson, the period embraced in the history of the Book of Judges is 370 years, that is to say, thirty-seven decennial periods, or eighteen *and* nineteen decennial periods. But on that principle there is no time assigned for Eli, Samuel, Saul, David,

[1] *Dabis.* [2] *Constabilibis.* [3] *Regimen.*
[4] Reading *illi* with Fritzsche.
[5] The number is awanting; this is Volkmar's suggestion.

or Solomon; and these must come in, for immediately after the nineteen years is mentioned we are told that the ten tribes would break away from the centre of worship. Again, only twenty years are allowed for the continuance of the kingdom of Judah after the revolt of the ten tribes. If we take the period indicated to be twenty of those decennial periods supposed by Langen, then we have a period of in all 200 years—much too short, for the actual time that elapsed must have been over 400 years. From the synchronism that exists between Jewish history and the Babylonian canon, we learn that the Jewish chronology is somewhat too long. The difference, however, is not at all equal to the task of reducing 467 to 200. Another difficulty suggests itself in regard to the number *ten*. We have no indication that it had any sacred significance which would suggest its employment, it is purely arbitrarily chosen. Much more may be said for Volkmar's view, that by "year" a reign is intended. The fifteen judges and the three kings make up eighteen, and the nineteen may be merely the inclusion of Rehoboam. We are then told that for twenty years offerings would be presented. Strangely enough there were nineteen sovereigns in both kingdoms, with the possibility of counting in one more in both cases, Athaliah in the southern kingdom, and Tibni, the son of Ginath, in the northern. The reference probably is to the Davidic kingdom. The author makes Moses prophesy that seven would surround themselves with walls, and that him God Himself would guard, and they should agree to His covenant. This sentence clearly proves that the period

called a year has a personal reference. If we reckon in Athaliah's reign, there were sixteen sovereigns from the accession of Rehoboam to the death of Josiah. In regard to seven of these it is recorded they "did evil in the sight of the Lord," and of nine that they "did good in the sight of the Lord." After these kings had ended their reign, then would the people begin to pollute themselves, and God would bring upon them "a king from the east, who would cover the land with his cavalry;" the reference, of course, here is to the invasion of Nebuchadnezzar, but the writer evidently has in his mind the terrible Parthian invaders, who after the defeat of Crassus had burst into the Holy Land, had driven Herod out of Jerusalem, and had set Antigonas, the son of Aristobulus on the throne; and this colours his description of the earlier invasions. As a matter of fact, although in the Ninevite and Babylonian armies cavalry soldiers in the proper sense of the word are represented, there are more charioteers, and the vast majority of the army was always infantry, spearmen, and slingers. On the other hand, the Parthian armies were almost wholly cavalry.

After the people of the southern kingdom are carried away captive, they invoke the help of their brethren, who are in the same case. They humble themselves before God, and remember how Moses, who had led them out of Egypt, had prophesied "that so it would happen to them if they forsook God." Then after about seventy-seven years they are returned to their own land. Here the years are literal years, and the number taken from Jeremiah. The writer connects the return with the prayers of Daniel.

"Then one who was over them went within and spread out his hands and fell on his knees and prayed for them, saying, 'O Lord of all (*Domine omnis*), King in the height, who didst choose this people, and desirest to be called their God, according to the covenant which Thou didst make with their fathers, they have even gone into captivity with their wives and their children into a strange land and are about the gate of the heathen. And where is (Thy) great majesty?[1] Have respect unto them, and pity them, O heavenly Lord.'" It was as an answer to this prayer that God remembered His covenant and replaced the two tribes in their own land; the ten tribes grew and multiplied, however, where they were. The two tribes fortifying the city and renewing the Jewish state, yet groaned because "they could not offer sacrifices to their God." It would seem that the sect to which our author belonged did not believe that in the second temple—possibly because there had been no descent of the pillar of cloud and of fire in its dedication, as at that of the Solomonic temple—acceptable sacrifices could be offered. This explains the abstention of the Essenes from the temple worship in Jerusalem. He looks forward to a general restitution of Israel, when all would be as the saints desired, when all the people would be united again "in the time of the tribes."

The author now overleaps all the intervening history

[1] Here we follow Volkmar; *maiestas* is in the text. If taken as an affirmative statement and not a question, the clause is evidently nonsense; hence Hilgenfeld and Merx would read *mœstitia*, and Fritzsche *molestia* instead of *maiestas*. It seems simpler to imagine *tua* has dropped out, and that the clause is to be read interrogatively.

between the return of the Jews under Cyrus to the later Hasmonæans. This he regards as the time of punishment, when men assumed the priesthood who were not of the true priestly race, but were "slaves born of slaves." Evidently the writer had every sympathy with Eleazar the Pharisee when he demanded that John Hyrcanus I. should give up the high priesthood, because he alleged his mother had been a captive in a Syrian camp. The tendency the Hasmonæans had of following Hellenic ways was evidently much blamed by him. We have no means of knowing that this Hellenising fashion went further than assuming Greek names and using them rather than the Hebrew, with perhaps a liking for Greek manners and Greek philosophy and arts; but our author sees in it the worship of false gods. A Puritan of the seventeenth century would have extended no toleration to works, however beautiful artistically, that depicted sacred subjects, and would have regarded as an indubitable sign of a Romeward tendency the introduction of anything of that sort into a place of worship. It is well known that, recently in Scotland, the question of purity of worship was regarded as inextricably involved with that in regard to the exclusion of instrumental music from congregational praise.

Not only did they assume the priesthood, but more, they would even mount the throne. This was an additional act of guilt — the throne belonged to the seed of David. The people acquiesced in this usurpation, and so they had to endure punishment. Bad as those priest-kings were, a worse thing befalls the nation, a "petulant king, not of the priestly race,"

ascends the throne. "He is rash and evil, and will slay their nobles with the sword. He will cast out[1] their bodies into unknown places, and no one shall know where their bodies are. He will slay old and young, and will not spare." To make it perfectly certain whom he means, the author informs us how long this tyrant is to reign—"thirty-five years." The picture of Herod is clearly drawn, evidently by the hand of a contemporary. How Langen can imagine it can refer to Aristobulus it is difficult to comprehend. He extends his ten year period to this also, and is necessitated to change the reading, so far as one can see, gratuitously. The author goes on, "He shall have sons who shall succeed him and rule for a short while." This is literally true; Herod was succeeded, not by one son, but by three. Archelaus was made ethnarch of Judea, and Philip tetrarch of Iturea, and Herod Antipas tetrarch of Galilee. Now comes a point at which our author breaks away from history. He expects that the reign of the Herodian princes would be cut short by the arrival of a powerful king of the West, whose cohorts would assail and capture the city, burn it with fire, and, in addition, crucify certain of them about the city. This fate had befallen Aristobulus, and the city in consequence, at the hands of Pompey. Later, the same thing had occurred when Herod was replaced on the throne by Sosius. A more recent, and in some sense more tremendous, example of the power of Rome

[1] Cod. *singuli et*; instead of this Fritzsche suggests *strangulabit*, for which there seems no justification. Volkmar and Hilgenfeld, *sepelit*. Might not *ejiciet* suit? The tyrant was little likely to take the trouble of burial.

was the expedition of Varus, in consequence of the uproar that took place during the absence of Archelaus in Rome. Then the Roman general crucified no less than two thousand rebelling Jews. We do not think, however, that this is used for more than suggestion. The author was under the impression that the Herodians would all be dispossessed, and similar disasters would befall their followers.

He tells his readers that the end approaches; that when the four hours shall have come, then the end will be. To find what the writer means by hour we must bear in mind that in Greek ὥρα does not generally mean an hour, but any definitely fixed period of time—a year, a season, or a day. As we are in the region of symbol and pseudo-prophecy, not of prose and fact, we must expect to find an hour have a much more indefinite meaning. Unfortunately, all attempts to fix definitely what the writer means here are rendered all but futile by the number of *lacunæ* that occur here in the manuscript. The intelligible fragments are few, and these intelligible only as fragments. Volkmar has the idea that the four hours are four imperial dynasties that had one after the other occupied the imperial throne. So far, however, as can be deciphered, there is nothing about the imperial dynasties at all. It is rather more than can be expected, that suggestions which supply a word from a letter should be treated as if they were clearly words legible in the manuscript. From the fact that the writer commences at once with the signs of the last times, and these four hours are part of these signs, it would seem, at all events, a possible solution that the

"hour," instead of meaning a definite space of time, means a mood of the time in which he was living. Our Lord addressing those who had come to arrest Him, says (Luke xxii. 53): "This is your hour, and the power of darkness."

If one may deduce the meaning of the whole from the fragments that have come down to us, it would seem that these hours were characterised by the presence of certain moral features. Thus we have immediately after these *lacunæ* a description of certain persons that seem to have been the Pharisees; at all events they are accused of the very things of which our Lord accuses the Pharisees, and in nearly the same terms: "Then shall men, pestilent and impious, bear rule on account of these things,[1] who yet shall say that they are righteous." This seems a description of the Pharisees; they certainly had secured the majority in the Sanhedrin, but their opponents, the Sadducees, are also sketched with an equally steady hand. These shall excite wrath in their minds, who are men of craft, living to please themselves, unreal in all their relations;[2] loving banquets every hour of the day; throats that are devourers: this is, or was, evidently directed against the Sadducees, the party of the priestly nobility, who above all were men of affairs, and played chicanery against power, as may be seen in their dealings with Pilate in our Lord's trial.

[1] *De his;* Volkmar renders *unter diesen*, saying that the Greek was probably ἐπὶ τούτων, though the German and the Greek do not seem precisely similar. If we take the usage of the Vulgate as our guide, *de* represents ἐκ, Matt. xiii. 41; John iii. 31; ἀπό, Matt. xiv. 29; the genitive simply, xviii. 28; περί, xxvi. 24.

[2] *Ficti in omnibus suis.*

There follows here another passage, where time has left us only detached letters and syllables which cannot with any degree of real probability be filled up. When we again reach an intelligible portion of the manuscript, we find ourselves now in company, not of the Pharisees, as we think, but of the publicans. The persons are described thus: "Devourers of the goods of the poor, saying that they did these things for mercy's sake;" *i.e.* take away the goods of the poor for the Roman taxes, and pretend that they are merciful because they do not take much more; "they are exterminators, ready to lodge complaints and untrue statements; concealing themselves lest they should be known; impious in crime, full of iniquity from east to west." Wherever these publicans were there were works of iniquity and wrong. They rejoiced in all manner of chambering and wantonness; and as they think of the wealth they have amassed, say, "we shall be princes." With hands and teeth they drag unclean things to them. They speak great things beyond measure. As he thinks of their actions full of horror, Moses says, "Touch me not, lest you defile me." Again there comes a passage that is little more than a series of *lacunæ* marked off by disjointed syllables and detached letters. As it seems to us, the Sadducees and Pharisees formed one of these portents which we hold to be symbolised by the "hours;" the publicans another.

Now there comes a third persecution, such as the Jews had endured under Antiochus Epiphanes, only worse, as crucifixion was the penalty meted out to those who confessed their circumcision. Those who

denied it were betrayed and sent to prison, their wives given to the Gentiles, and their sons cut by physicians to efface the mark of circumcision. These horrors never could happen literally. Rome never much cared to make a nation abandon its faith. Rome persecuted Christianity because her statesmen suspected a political meaning in the secret evening meetings of the Christians, and could not comprehend a religion that was not an affair of state. Could any one imagine even the fantastic Commodus or the cruel Caracalla paying medical practitioners to remove from Jewish children the sign of their faith? And still less would Augustus or Tiberius have done so. Is it not rather more likely that this is an exaggerated representation of the action of the Herodians? Those who confessed their circumcision by hewing down the eagle over the gate of the temple suffered the last penalty of the law; those who denied their faith suffered imprisonment, in order that some lewd Roman might dishonour the wives of their prisoners. As a matter of fact, though the Jews were as a rule freed from the obligation of military service, sometimes, however, they were pressed into it, and the writer anticipates that this will become general. Jews will be punished for military disobedience with torture and fire and sword. What he regards as worse than torture, is being compelled to bear the standards with their heathen emblems. The military oath is full of untold horrors for him; "by those tormenting them" these Jews "shall be compelled to enter a secret place, and be forced by goads to blaspheme the law and the altar and what is upon it."

The fourth sign or hour that will intimate the coming of the end is the appearance of a Levite, whose name is Taxo, who with his seven sons retires to a cave in utter despair at the state of the holy people. When he assembles his seven sons he says, "See, my sons, there is yet another cruel vengeance to be exacted from the people—betrayal of the princedoms[1] without mercy or elemency; for what race or what land or what people of those impious against God, who have committed so many crimes, who have endured so many evils as those which have fallen upon us? Ye see and know that never have they tempted[2] God, nor their parents, nor their grandparents, that they shall lay aside the commandments." These other nations never were in any covenant relationship with God, and have therefore cast aside His commandments. There is only one way that Israel can be saved,—physical might will avail nothing in such a conflict. Let them but die for God, and God will come forward as their avenger. True to the legal ideal, shared by Pharisees with the Essenes, they determine to fast three days and then retire into a cave to die. Whether they intended to starve themselves to death, or whether they were to take more active means against their lives, does not appear. Who it is that is designated by the name Taxo is the great problem of the book. Volkmar, who places the date of this book as late as the days of Hadrian, will believe it to stand for Rabbi Aqiba. His proof, though ingenious, is scarcely convincing; it

[1] Reading with Fritzsche *principatuum* instead of *principatum* (Cod.), *clementia* (Merx) instead of *eminent.*

[2] Reading with Hilgenfeld *temptarunt* instead of *temptans*: Cod.

involves among other things the assumption that the number of the Beast in Revelation is the name of Nero, and that the 153 great fishes in John xxi. designates Simon Peter. Hilgenfeld has another theory; he holds the original Greek to have been τξς= 366, and that the letters are equivalent to Messiah. One suggestion of Volkmar's which may be looked at, is that the original Greek was ταξιω. If that conjecture is correct, it might be represented in Hebrew by טַחְסִיה. This could easily arise by mistake from מַתִּתְיָה, the name of the father of Judas Maccabæus. It may be urged that he had only five sons, whereas Taxo has seven; but Simon the son of Mattathias caused *seven* pyramids to be erected at Modin to the memory of his father and brethren, and that would easily give rise to the change in the number of sons assigned to him. It may be that the author here means to indicate that what Mattathias did was not to be repeated, that a man with his spirit in him would now retire into a cave and die.

After this Moses bursts into song:—"Then shall appear God's kingdom in all His creation; then shall the devil (*Zabulus*) have an end, and sadness be taken away with him. Then shall be filled the hands of the messenger appointed by the Highest, who quickly shall vindicate them from their enemies. The heavenly One shall rise from the throne of His kingdom and shall go out from His holy habitation with indignation and wrath on account of His sons, and will cause the earth to tremble, and shake it to its boundaries. And the lofty mountains shall be brought low and shaken together, and the valleys shall be filled." Then follows a proof

of his use of Joel iii. 4. It is striking that in Acts ii. 20 the same passage is made use of as if in expectation of an immediate literal fulfilment. He ends his song with an exalted congratulation of Israel. "Then happy shalt thou be, O Israel; thou shalt ascend on the necks and wings of eagles, and shalt be full:[1] for God shall exalt thee and seat[2] thee in the heaven of stars, in the place of their habitation; and thou shalt look down from the height and shalt see thine enemies in the earth, and shalt recognise them, and rejoice and give thanks, and confess thy Creator."

Having finished his song, Moses addresses Joshua, and requires him to guard the words he has spoken till the end of the 250 times. On Langen's interpretation this would be 2500 years after the entrance into the promised land. We are thus told that when Joshua heard these words—which as soon as heard were written, it is parenthetically added—he tore his garments and fell down at the feet of Moses, and wept and lamented at his approaching departure; and although Moses strove to comfort him, he would not be consoled, but demanded, "Who will nourish the people or lead them against the Amorites?" He says: "How am I able to lead this people as a father an only son, or as a lady a virgin daughter; how can I supply them at will with food and drink according to the manner of their liking?" He sees, too, that the enemies whom they are to encounter will be emboldened when they learn that Israel has lost his great defender, who guards him by his prayers to God. These nations knew that every night and all night long Moses had

[1] Reading *impleberes*. [2] *Faciet te hærere*.

his knees fixed on the ground praying and looking up to the Omnipotent that He might visit the earth. Now he is to depart, "and now what shall happen to their people?" There is one really sublime sentiment to which Joshua gives utterance, somewhat aside from the argument of his speech. Speaking of his master's approaching descent into the grave, he says, "The whole world is thy tomb."[1]

Moses answers his weeping follower, and tells him that God had created all the nations of the world along with Israel; that He had foreseen everything from the beginning even to the end of time; that He had sent him to pray and entreat for their sins. "Not on account of my virtue or of my weakness," he says, "but from His mercy and long-suffering." Then addressing Joshua he says: "I tell thee, not on account of the piety of this people, thou shalt exterminate the nations." He shows him how weak they are, but that in fulfilling the commands of God they would be strong. Further, he says: "For God will come forth who has foreseen all things in the world,[2] and His covenant is established by an oath.

So ends the manuscript of the Assumption of Moses without narrating to us the event from which it takes its title. However, it is easily seen what course it must have taken after this point. In Clemens Alexandrinus[3] we find a reference to this portion of the book which has not come down to us. With Joshua was Caleb,

[1] Compare Pericles' funeral oration, Thuc. ii. 43, *ἀνδρῶν γὰρ ἐπιφανῶν πᾶσα γῆ τάφος*. May this be regarded as a proof of the study of Greek literature in Engedi?

[2] *Sæculo* instead of *saecula*.

[3] Stromateis, Bk. vi. (vol. ii. p. 385, transl., Clark, Edinburgh).

only the latter stood further down the mountain, and were both, though in different degrees, witnesses of the translation of Moses—for so, according to our author, it must have been. In order not to contradict Scripture, the author imagines a double vision vouchsafed to Joshua. He saw at the same time his master borne up by angels into heaven and honoured with burial in the ravines of the mountains. The passage referred to by the Apostle Jude must have occurred rather later in the narrative. It may have told how the mysterious conflict in the heavenly places between the archangel and the archfiend was revealed to Joshua in vision, and how that too was committed by him to writing. In some of the Fathers we are told that the murder of the Egyptian was brought against Moses by Satan.

CHAPTER IX.

POST-CHRISTIAN APOCALYPSES.

THE great tragedy of the world's history had been accomplished. Jesus had been betrayed and crucified; had risen again the third day according to the Scriptures, and now was preached among the Gentiles. But many Jews joined themselves to the faith of Jesus who were not willing to cease to be Jews because they had become Christians.

Among those who came over were not only Pharisees and Sadducees, but also, and even more, Essenes. Though in the strict sense of the word applicable only to the solitaries of Engedi, it seems our Lord had never been an Essene, yet the fact remains that His mother and brothers belonged to that freer order of the sect which did not enjoin abandonment of family life, and that not improbably He Himself belonged to this order, and had received Rabbinic ordination in connection with it. Although so many of His teachings were contrary to the views maintained by the solitaries of Engedi, the Essenes were very favourably disposed to Christianity. Indeed, as we have already shown, it would seem as if they had come over to Christianity nearly in mass, and formed in the Church that Judaising section of the believers that were zealous for the law, against whom Paul had to maintain such a constant conflict.

This explains the tolerance manifested by the Jews of the days of Paul towards the Jewish Christians. The Judaising Christians seem hand in glove, so to speak, with the rulers, and really appear to have excited them against Paul. We learn also from Josephus the respect in which James the brother of our Lord was held. From these things we may deduce that the Jewish people had no controversy with Christians as Christians. The Christians must thus have come under one of their known classes or sects in order so to escape. But the only sect with which they could be allied was that of the Essenes.

We have seen reason to identify the Judaisers in general with the Essenes,[1] in this going further than Bishop Lightfoot, who would only regard the Judaisers of Colosse as Essenes. We have here to look at the effect of their presence in one special Church.

These Jewish Christians spread themselves, as we see in the New Testament, all over the Gentile Churches, and among the Churches they visited was that of Rome. The Christian community in Rome was composed of two distinct portions, one Gentile, chiefly Greek, the other Jewish. These seem to have remained separate like the Arve and the Rhone, each with its distinct pastor. This supposition, at all events, affords the most satisfactory explanation of the peculiar traditions and phenomena of the Church of Rome.[2]

[1] See above, p. 115.

[2] The first thing one observes in regard to the Roman Church is the variety in the order of its alleged earliest bishops with a practical identity in the names. According to Euseb. *Eccl. His.* iii. 4. and 15, the order is *Linus, Anencletus, Clemens;* according to the Liberian catalogue, following St. Augustine, it is *Linus, Clemens, Cletus;* while Tertullian declares Clement to have succeeded Peter. Cave's hypothesis is that

Over the Church thus divided swept a terrible tempest, that forced the Christians to cling together. The Neronian persecution cemented with blood the upbuilding of the Church of Rome. If tradition is to be trusted, both Peter and Paul suffered in that persecution.

In the midst of these scenes of horror there wandered one from Judea who belonged to the sect that had their headquarters at Engedi by the Dead Sea. Into the great *colluvies* of nations by the Tiber had been floated one of the Christian Essenes. He—like so many before him—had had visions, and upon him had rested—so had he dreamed—the spirit and power of Isaiah. He felt all the more akin to the evangelical prophet that he was himself a Christian, and to him all the prophecies of the son of Amoz were full of Jesus of Nazareth. It seemed to him that Isaiah must have seen more than he had related in the prophecies that have come down. And as he dwelt in thought upon this, he too seemed to be swept away up into heaven after heaven, and saw mighty marvels. The spirit of Isaiah had come down upon him, and had carried him away up into the seventh heaven.

This was what he had seen and revealed in the manuscript he had left in the sacred library at Engedi.

Each heaven grew in splendour as he ascended. In each there was a throne on which one sat, and on either side were angels singing praises to the Most

suggested in the text. But further, only in Rome and Alexandria—in which as in Rome there was a large Jewish population—were there congregations with special pastors (Neander, *Life of Chrysostom*). Döllinger's theory of Hippolytus being an anti-pope seems to bear out the same view (Döllinger—*Hippolytus and Callistus*—Transl., Clark).

High. Such was the case in the first five heavens. But in the sixth there was no throne, but all the angels had an equal glory. Still upward he had been swept in his vision until he reached the seventh heaven, where God was in all His glory. "I beheld one standing whose glory surpassed that of all, whose glory was great and wonderful. And Adam, and Abel, and Seth, all the saints of old approached and worshipped Him, and glorified Him with united voice. I also myself glorified with them, and my song was like theirs." Immediately all the angels approached, and worshipped and sang praises. And he was transformed, and became like an angel. "Then the angel who was with me called upon me to worship Him, and I worshipped Him; and the angel added, 'This is the Lord of all glory which thou hast beheld;' and while I was yet conversing, I perceived a second glorious being similar to Him in appearance, whom the saints approached and worshipped. And again I saw another in great glory; and walking I asked the angel, 'Who is this?' and he said to me, 'Adore Him, for He is the angel of the Holy Spirit that speaketh in them and in all the righteous.' Immediately there was revealed an ineffable glory, and straightway I ceased to be able to look because of the glory; nor could any of the angels look on that glory, only the saints." After this glorious vision he was shown the gospel history. He saw the Second Person in the Trinity descending through heaven after heaven till He came to the earth. He saw the mystery of the conception and birth.[1] He saw the wonders of

[1] This part is omitted in the Venetian Latin, of which see below in the following book.

His life—the shame of His death, yet its surpassing glory through the resurrection. He saw the apostles sent forth to proclaim the gospel. He saw Him ascending up through heaven after heaven until He had seated Himself on the throne of God. Here we have all the essentials of the Gospel history and doctrine veiled in vision. There are elements here that speak of the coming heresy of the Gnostics. These five heavens had each its presiding archon: beneath them was the firmament where Satan rules: he and his angels are in a state of constant conflict. This reminds one of the Demiurge and his kingdom, which forms so large an element in Gnosticism. This latter, however, is not out of harmony with the representation of Scripture. Our Lord (John xiv. 30) says "the prince of this world cometh, and hath nothing in me." At the temptation Satan claims to have this world and the kingdom thereof, and his claim our Lord does not disallow. Only here in the Ascension of Isaiah, as in the New Testament, it is, in contrast with Gnostic representation, Satan, not the Demiurge, the God of the Jews, who presides over the lower world.

Bearing this mysterious vision in his memory, one of the Jewish Essenes had been swept away by the force of circumstances and conveyed to Rome. When he arrived, Rome was to a great extent a mass of smouldering ashes. The golden house of Nero needed more free space, in order that it might attain its full proportions, and hence the fire. Even emperors, however, dare not outrage public opinion with impunity. To escape the odium he had incurred by his recklessness, Nero laid the blame of this incendiarism

on the Christians. Then came the fearful orgies of cruelty, when old men and maidens, young men and even children, were tortured, not accepting deliverance. Men were wrapt in pitch and made torches to light up the gardens of the tyrant, or were thrown to the lions, or, especially innocent maidens, were tossed by bulls; while the debauchee criticised on æsthetic principles the various attitudes they assumed through shame or agony.[1]

No wonder when he saw these things that the man on whom the spirit of Isaiah rested felt his heart grow hot within him. Another tyrant there had been, who in Jerusalem had made the blood of the saints to flow like water. He thought of the great prophet arraigned before Manasseh, the son of Hezekiah. Jew and Gentile alike hated the Christians, because their life was a perpetual rebuke to the self-seeking hypocrisy of the one, and the lust and cruelty of the other. Such a fact could not prove a basis of accusation; they must be accused by the Jews of blasphemy; by the Gentiles of nameless crimes against the very nature of morality. Such an accusation, he imagined, must have been urged against Isaiah. "Whereas, Moses tells us God said to him, 'No man shall see my face,' Isaiah says he has seen the face of God." Such was the accusation brought against Isaiah by Balkira the Samaritan when the spirit of Berial had entered into him. Berial was wroth with Isaiah because he had revealed the descent of the Son from the seventh heaven, and therefore determined that he should be put to death.

[1] Renan, *L'Antechrist.*

He tells us,[1] "And it came to pass after the death of Hezekiah that Manasseh reigned. And he did not remember the precepts of his father, but forgot them. And Sammael dwelt in Manasseh, and clung to him." Then follows an account of his evil deeds, his idolatry, his magic, and his cruelty. "Now when Isaiah the son of Amos saw the iniquity of Jerusalem, that it was much, he fled from the city and dwelt in Bethlehem of Judah. But there also was much iniquity, therefore he retired into a mountain in a desert place," and "hid himself with Micah, and Habakkuk, and Joel, and Ananias, and Josheb (Shear-Jashub) his son." They could not be found until Balkira the Samaritan pointed out their hiding-place. This Balkira was a descendant of that Zedekiah who deceived King Ahab, and smote Micaiah the son of Judah.

When Isaiah is brought before Manasseh, after he has been accused, he bursts in somewhat inconsequentially with the history of the twelve apostles. Rightly has Dillmann declared this portion an interpolation, but not therefore the work of a further *falsarius*. After the general statement in the 13th verse, with the 14th verse begins a portion which the writer, fresh from the bloody scenes of the Neronian persecution, intended to add to his Vision of Isaiah. It, however, he had left, as we have seen, with his fellows in Judea in the quiet retreat of Engedi,—a view that is supported by the occurrence of Hezekiah and Josheb at the beginning of chap. vi.

He continues his narrative down to the point when "the time being ended, Berial the great angel, the

[1] Following partly Laurence and partly Dillmann.

king of this world, shall descend in the shape of a man, of a king of iniquity, a matricide. He is the king of this world." Then follows a description of what Nero did, which is not to be taken literally, but figuratively, not impossibly of his theatrical performances. "At his command the sun shall rise by night and the moon shall appear at the sixth hour,"[1] that is to say, at mid-day. The deification of the emperor even in his lifetime, struck every pious Jew with horror, still more every Jew whose piety had been quickened by contact with Christ.

The reign of this incarnation of Berial is to be three years seven months and twenty-seven days. This is not improbably the exact duration of Nero's reign from the persecution of the Christians to his suicide on June 9th, 68. The short reign of Galba, followed by the yet shorter reign of others, gave a sense of instability to everything; men were looking for what was coming upon the earth. The writer expects a delay—a pause in events for 332 days. Then Christ shall come with His angels and the holy power of the seventh heaven, and shall drag Berial and his powers into Gehenna." Then follows the account of the glory of the blessed and the destruction of the wicked. "Now the remainder of this vision is written in the Vision of Babylon."

After the conclusion of the vision we are told how Isaiah was sawn asunder with a wooden saw.

A later hand seems to have added the introduction, telling of the interview of Isaiah with Hezekiah and

[1] This may be a reference to the great eclipse of the sun mentioned by Dio Cassius as occurring after the death of Agrippina.

Manasseh in the twenty-sixth year of the reign of the former.

THE FOURTH BOOK OF ESDRAS.

After the capture of Jerusalem by the armies of Titus, one of those Jewish Christians who believed in Christ and yet was zealous for the law had been carried away to Rome. In all probability he was not a captive; our Lord's command to retire from the city seems to have been generally obeyed, and the Christians as a body departed to Pella. This Jew had left Jerusalem desolate, and came to Rome full of sadness for the fate of the city of his fathers' solemnities. To his mind, mourning, lamentation, and woe is the only attitude befitting Jews. When he comes to Rome he finds that many Jews are in high place, enjoying the favour of the emperor; there is Josephus, Justus of Tiberias, and, above all, Agrippa. He marvels at the woe that has befallen the people of God, on whose account the world itself was created. He fancies how Ezra would have felt in Babylon among wealthy Jews who cared not how Zion lay desolate, and it seems to him as if the spirit of Ezra was upon him. He seemed to realise the consolation given to Ezra. While he is thus complaining, and more and more identifying himself with Ezra, the archangel Uriel, one of the four named by Enoch, comes to comfort him by showing him that to everything there is an appointed time; that the souls in Sheol are as children in the womb. Again Uriel comes when Ezra had renewed his complaint, and shows him that God has fixed the time of everything, and that relief will come. He feels that

to Ezra the coming of Christ would be the great consolation. So he is sure that to Ezra this would be revealed. Hence in his vision Uriel comes to announce that at the expiry of 400 years, Jesus the Son of God would come,[1] and would die, and then there should be silence seven days. Then follows the last judgment, much as it is described in other apocalyptic books, only in a more succinct form. Then Ezra represents that intercession had always been potent with God; and is answered that this life is not all. The connection here is somewhat difficult to follow. The announcement of the woes to come leads Esdras to inveigh against the sin of Adam. When he continues his complaint the angel tells him that such is the condition of the battle men are born to fight in the world. He still continued to plead with the angel. When looking round he saw a stately woman mourning in the deepest distress. Her distress was, that having born a son after thirty years of barrenness, that son had fallen down dead on the night of his wedding. Ezra endeavours, first to console her and then rebuke her. Afterwards he is told that the woman he saw was Mount Zion. For three thousand years had there been no sacrifice offered. At length Solomon came and the Davidic race. This race had been cut off, and so she mourned.

[1] The words are *annis quadringentis*, which Hilgenfeld, Lücke, Langen, and others translate and comment on as if accusative. While it is true, "course of time" is sometimes put in the ablative, yet it also may in such a connection be translated as in the ordinary English version, "within four hundred years" (Roby, *Latin Gram.* 1182). There may have been some misconception of the meaning of the Greek or of the original Hebrew. The Syriac has xxx. years, the Ethiopic and Armenian omit the numerals altogether; only the Arabic agrees with the Latin.

This brings us to the most celebrated part of the whole prophecy—the eagle vision. Ezra saw a mighty eagle come up out of the sea; it had twelve wings and three heads,—a vision of the Roman empire under the Flavian emperors. Domitian, under whom he was writing, was the twelfth emperor, the last survivor of a dynasty of three, who had the unenviable reputation of having murdered his brother. There are eight lesser wings, that may not improbably be the procurators or proconsuls that ruled in Syria or Palestine. Under the eagle were gathered all the winds of heaven, and they bore her up. Then a lion appeared upon the scene and addressed the eagle; then the head and the wings of the eagle disappeared, and its whole body was burned with fire.

Esdras marvelled what this mysterious vision could mean, and he prayed to God to have the vision explained to him. In answer to his prayer God—for there is no word of an angel intermediary—tells him that this marvellous eagle with its twelve wings represents the fourth monarchy of Daniel, the empire that had exceeded all the preceding monarchies in extent and power—the empire whose symbol was the eagle, the empire of Rome. Each of the wings was one of the rulers of this great empire, and the second of these, Augustus, was to reign longer than any of those that succeeded him. The whole representation, however, interpretation included, is very difficult of comprehension. It seems impossible that even in apocalyptic vision the contradictory elements present could be harmonised. It would almost seem that some one had overwritten the vision at a later period, probably

under the Septimian dynasty. The lion is the Messiah who was to come in His power and destroy the empire of the Flavians. Christ, who formerly came as the man of sorrows and acquainted with grief, comes now as the lion of the tribe of Judah.

In continuation, practically, of this vision Esdras saw a mighty tempest on the sea, and a man rising out of the sea, at whose presence all things trembled. Against him were gathered a great multitude from the four winds of heaven to fight against the man who had come out of the sea. But he went up into a high graven mountain (*sculptus mons*, Lat.). He lifted up against this multitude no instrument of war, but from his lips came a flaming fire, and from his tongue came sparks and tempests.[1] And they were mixed together; the tempest fell upon the multitude with the fire, so that of the great host prepared to fight "nothing was to be perceived but only dust and smell of smoke." Then the man coming down from the mountain called unto him a peaceable multitude. On Esdras entreating to be shown the interpretation, he is told as follows: "The man who thus appears is Christ the Messiah at His second coming." It is evident that the writer of the Book of Esdras had not forgiven, and could not forgive, the Romans for the destruction of his native city. He thinks it but reasonable that all the multitude of those who rise against the Messiah should be burnt up with fire. He is like the sons of Zebedee, who would have called down fire

[1] *Æth.* His tongue was emitting coals of fire like a whirlwind. *Arab.* He threw from his tongue sparks of a tempest. *Syr.* He threw out from his tongue coals of a tempest.

from out of heaven on the Samaritan village that refused to receive their Master and themselves. His Israelitish hopes are seen in the fact that the peaceable multitude that assemble to the Messiah after all His enemies are destroyed are the ten tribes that had been carried away captive by Shalmanasar. These ten lost tribes are referred to in the Apocalypse of Baruch; there, however, they are reckoned to be only nine tribes and a half; and in the Assumption of Moses, where it is said, chap. iii., that the two tribes would call upon the ten lost tribes to come and unite with them. Israel was always desiring to restore the unity of the nation as it was at first. Yet the Samaritans, who were partially the descendants of these ten tribes, were hated by them with a perfect hatred. The Talmud and other Jewish tracts are full of exorbitant hopes of what would befall when the ten tribes returned.

After the interpretation of this last vision God calls upon Esdras, and commits to him further duties. He is to write down all that he has seen. He is warned that the world has lost its youth; that of the twelve parts of which its life was to be made up, ten and a half have already passed, and the days that remain are to be full of sorrows. Esdras accepts the commission, and further volunteers, as the law has been burnt, to restore, by the help of the Holy Ghost, all that had been written. He is told by God to retire forty days, and to take with him Sarea, Dabria, Selemia, Ethanas, and Asiel, five who write swiftly, and then he is to come into the presence of the Lord, who shall light a candle of understanding in his heart.

Then, when he and his scribes have written out what

he has been appointed to write, part he is to publish, and part he is to reveal only to the wise, and that secretly. This is added, not only to explain the later appearance of this prophecy of Esdras as compared with the other books that bore the same name, but also to explain and justify the secret books possessed and used by the Essenes as a sect. Having assembled the people of Israel who were in Babylon, Ezra addresses them on their past history, and tells them of the final resurrection, and of the judgment to come. He and his five friends who were to act as his amanuenses then retired into the field apart.

The day following their arrival in the field, a voice called to Esdras, and a hand offered him a cup, whereof he drank and was filled with wisdom, and spoke and dictated for forty days to these five men; they only had time to take food during the night, when he rested. In this way he dictated ninety-four books. Of these, the twenty-four first dictated were to be published by Ezra, the last seventy were to be kept and shown only to the wise. Probably the number intended by the seventy was, as usual among the Jews, seventy-two. If that be so, then the number published would be exactly the received twenty-two of ordinary Jewish calculation. Some Jewish writers, however, give the number of the books in the Scriptures as twenty-four.[1]

So much for the original book of the prophecy of

[1] The authorised Vulgate, and also some editions earlier than the Clementine, have *ducenti quatuor;* this is followed in the English Apocrypha. All the other versions give ninety-four.

Ezra as it is found in the various versions, Arabic, Ethiopic, Syriac, and Armenian.

In the Latin version which is represented in the Second Esdras of the Apocrypha of our English and German Bibles, and of the supplemental canon of the Vulgate, there are four chapters more, two added at the beginning and two at the end. Some one, writing several years after the original writer, writes a series of moral reflections and denunciations of sinners modelled on the prophet's prophecy so-called. It is not apocalyptic, and really is of little interest to us.

We find in the Jewish tracts traces of the tradition that Ezra had written down the whole of the sacred books. This tradition may be explained if Ezra was editor of the book of the law.

In the Ethiopic, Syriac, Arabic, and Armenian versions we find a portion which is omitted in the ordinary Latin. A larger part of it, however, is to be found quoted in Ambrose, *De Mortuis*. Esdras has a vision given him of the state of the dead, both of the bliss of the saved and the misery of the lost.

He gives a description of the day of judgment as a day in which there was to be "neither sun, nor moon, nor cloud, nor thunder, nor lightning, nor wind, nor water, nor air, nor darkness, nor evening, nor morning," only the glory of God was to be visible. It was to last seven years. One may note the difference between this and the account of the last judgment in the Apocalypse of St. John.

Esdras seeing few saved, inquires the reason, and the answer is that there is more clay in the world than

lead, more lead than iron, more iron than brass, more brass than silver, and more silver than gold; so the righteous are fewer than the wicked. He is shown the places of the saved and the lost, and the reasons of the joy of the one and the sorrow of the other are narrated at length.

THE TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

After the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, not a few of the inhabitants of the land of Palestine made their escape into Egypt. To a great extent Egypt lay aside from the marching and counter-marching of the imperial armies. In the peace and quietude that they are experiencing, a Nazarene—an Essene who had become a Christian—has his mind directed back to the old fathers of his race, who had dwelt so long in the land of Goshen. Himself a Christian, though none the less intensely a Jew, he is eager to lead those who are his kinsmen according to the flesh to recognise in Jesus the Messiah promised to the fathers.

Revolving the matter in his mind, he thinks how the patriarchs had died in the land of Goshen, and is certain that they must have seen, however far off, the future glories of their seed in their Saviour. The more he thinks of it the more clear it grows to him. He sees patriarch after patriarch of the sons of Jacob laid down on beds of sickness and of death, and, looking forward to their departure, calling their children and their brethren around them. In each case he feels there would be thanksgiving for mercies received during

the life past, and in the case of most, confession of sin and shortcoming, and consequent earnest exhortation to his descendants to avoid like sins. Then a word of prophetic revelation. This, he felt sure, would be the general plan. Knowing as he did the sins into which each had fallen, he had no difficulty in imagining the line each respective patriarch would take in rebuking, warning, or exhorting.

Evidently he was well acquainted with preceding Apocalyptic literature. Especially one can observe the writer's knowledge of Enoch and the Book of Jubilees. Enoch indeed is repeatedly referred to, and the revelations he had given. The connection with the Book of Jubilees may be seen in the pre-eminence given to the tablets of the Heavens, on which all the events of the history of the world are chronicled beforehand. The softening down of the sins of the various patriarchs is quite in the manner of the Book of Jubilees, though sometimes the matter of the defence is somewhat different. Thus the incest of Reuben is intended to be lessened by saying that Bilhah was drunk. The murder of the Shechemites by Simeon and Levi is condemned by Jacob because the Shechemites had been circumcised, but excused by Levi on the ground that he had been decreed in the tablets of the Heavens to slaughter the Shechemites.

Another striking peculiarity which the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs shares with the Book of Jubilees, is the way in which Judah and Levi are associated and marked off from the other tribes. To a Jew, the priestly and the royal offices stood apart from all others in solemnity. In early ages kingship

and priesthood in most nations were offices filled by one person; gradually in classic lands they became separated, and the priesthood sank to be a matter of mere ceremonial, and kingship became an elective magistracy. In Judaism both priesthood and kingship were hereditary, and both retained a great deal of their original sacred character in the mind of the people. The Messiah was somehow expected to be a priest and a king—a priest upon his throne—a son of David, yet a priest after the order of Melchizedek. This hope of the people was mocked, not satisfied, when the Hasmonæan priestly family assumed the royal title and dignity. The writer of the present work wishes to show how Christ fulfilled the desire of the Jews; but he does not take the way taken by the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews. The writer of the Epistle explains the priesthood of Melchizedek as one that, being higher and older, was to supersede the later and inferior Aaronic priesthood; he consequently assumed that our Lord had no claim to an Aaronic descent. The writer of the Testaments asserts that by His mother our Lord could claim a Levitical, if not also a priestly descent; a claim which in some degree is countenanced by the consanguinity subsisting between Mary and Elizabeth. At the same time he evidently does not regard the sanctuary in Mount Zion necessary to legitimate worship, for he represents Rachel after purchasing the mandrakes from Leah not eating them, but offering them "to the priest of the Most High who was at that time."

The most marked advance in the position occupied by the writer as compared with his predecessors is

seen in regard to the relation of the Gentiles to the covenant. Thus Simeon says: "The Lord shall raise up from Levi a priest, and from Judah a king. So shall He save all the Gentiles and the people Israel." In the Testament of Levi it is said: "The third—a new name shall be called over Him, because He shall arise as a king from Judah and shall establish a new priesthood after the fashion of the Gentiles (*κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῶν ἐθνῶν*) to all the Gentiles." In Judah's Testament: "There shall the sceptre of my kingdom shine forth, and from your roots shall arise a stem, and in it shall arise a rod of righteousness to the Gentiles." It is needless to increase the evidences of the purpose in this book to effect an *eirenikon* and heal the division in the Church on the one side between the Judaisers and the followers of Paul, and on the other to induce his brethren of the Jewish faith to embrace Christianity.

No one was more markedly hated by the Jews and the Judaisers than the Apostle Paul. To meet this hatred the writer represents Benjamin on his death-bed congratulating his descendants that from among them should spring up the great Apostle of the Gentiles.

So ends the latest of the Apocalyptic writings that we shall occupy ourselves with. Somewhat later an Apocalypse of Adam was written, but it contains mainly a description of the glories of heaven.[1] It is modelled very much on the Apocalypse of Isaiah. There were also an Apocalypse of Peter and another of Paul. But all these works have disappeared. Among Christians such books as *Pastor Hermas* contained an apocalyptic

[1] It is given in a Syriac text with a French translation by Renan, *Journal Asiatique*, 1853.

element. Apocalypse among the Jews hardened into the Cabbala.

There is, however, another Apocalypse of which we have not treated, that of St. John. Regarding it, as we do, as an inspired book written by an apostle who was moved by the Holy Ghost, we do not feel it fitting to occupy merely a few final pages in considering its sublime revelations. At the same time, any one studying the Apocalyptic books we have taken up will be in a much better position to understand the great Apocalypse of St. John the Divine.

BOOK III.

CRITICISM OF APOCALYPTIC.

CHAPTER I.

THE RISE OF APOCALYPSE.

PERIODS in literature are distinguished from each other, not only in vocabulary and grammar, but also in the kind of composition that prevails. Thus the vocabulary of the age of Shakespeare and Spenser did not differ more from that of the age of Congreve and Pope than did the modes of composition in the two periods. Compare either or both with the present day, when the drama may be said to be nearly dead, and pastoral and didactic poetry wholly so, and we find the contrast is yet more marked. As great a contrast is there in Hebrew literature between the age of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and that of the period between the conquests of Alexander the Great and the fall of Bar-Cochba. The principal literature of the former period is prophecy, of the latter, Apocalypse.

We have already discussed elsewhere the difference between Apocalypse and prophecy.

When any new form of literature rises, its prevalence is usually occasioned to some extent by the appearance of some genius who has made this new form the vehicle of his thoughts. But the rise of a genius is an effect which must be explained; and, moreover, ere he can be recognised, a suitable surrounding must be found for him. A great part of the excellence of a

genius is due to external recognition of his powers. Applying this to the rise of Apocalypse, we have to inquire what were the circumstances which occasioned the passing away of prophecy and the rise of Apocalypse. Jewish tradition assigns the beginning of this movement to the fall of Jerusalem before the arms of Nebuchadnezzar. A large number would assign it to the days of the Maccabean struggle, and some would postpone it to the fall of Jerusalem under the reign of Vespasian. It may be regarded as fixed, at all events, that some such crisis brought forth the earliest Apocalypse.

It seems difficult to imagine any one maintaining the Book of Daniel to have derived its inspiration from any later Apocalypse; certainly it is impossible to imagine any of those that have come down to us affording the starting-point of the movement. Enoch is obviously dependent on Daniel, as we have seen.

In the middle portion of the Book of Enoch there is a description of the books of Judgment evidently derived from the similar description in Daniel; and according to Ewald[1] the middle of Enoch is the oldest part. Daniel cannot be derived from the Book of Enoch, because in every point of resemblance Enoch is the more elaborate, Daniel the more simple. Given Dan. vii. 13, one can understand the writer of the Book of Enoch adopting the title "Son of man" as an appellation of the Messiah; but one cannot imagine the

[1] *Ueber des äthiopischen B. Henoch Entstehung, Sinn und Zusammenzetzung (Abhandl. der k. Gesellsch. der Wissenschaft zu Göttingen. Hist. Phil. Klasse*, vi. 116).

author of Daniel, if "Son of man" was a received title of the Messiah, introducing the words in the tentative fashion he does. In the same way, if we compare Dan. vii. 9, 10 and Enoch xiv. 22 and chaps. xxxviii.–xliv., we cannot fail to see that the writer of Enoch had our Book of Daniel before him. To refer to no more, there is an obvious connection between the angelology of Enoch and that of Daniel. Two of Enoch's four archangels occur in Daniel, and no other angels are named in Daniel but these two. The very elaboration of the angelic hierarchy in Enoch as compared with its relative simplicity in Daniel is a proof that Daniel is the more ancient of the two.

We have also seen that the Book of Jubilees and the Assumption of Moses imply the existence of Enoch; and Jude, Hebrews, Galatians, and Ephesians imply the existence of the Assumption of Moses. We need not devote more time to proving this, but may assume this much at all events, that the Book of Daniel is the first of the Apocalypses. The approximate dates of some of these works are universally admitted, and of most are beyond all reasonable cavil. From these one might argue the date of Daniel to be at the latest early in the Hellenic period.

The book itself is one well fitted to mark a new era in a literature. It is full of pictures, at once tender and majestic. We are first shown the young children of the seed royal of Judah brought as captives to Babylon, and brought up to be the counsellors of the conquerors of the kingdom of their fathers and the destroyers of the temple of their God. Even then, in these unfavourable circumstances, they maintain

the faith of their fathers. In their faithfulness they prosper and gain the favour of all with whom they come in contact. But this season of prosperity threatens to come to a sudden and violent conclusion. The king has dreamed, has forgot his dream, and now demands of his astrologers to reveal to him this forgotten dream. As they cannot, utter destruction is decreed by the unreasonable despot on the soothsayers. In this destruction, it is implied, Daniel and his companions would have shared, although they had had no opportunity of manifesting the wisdom that was in them. Daniel, however, comes forward and declares the dream, and his interpretation thereof, and in doing so lays the foundation of the science of history. The succession of four great world empires is presented to the imagination under the figure of a statue with golden head, silver arms, brazen thighs and iron legs, and feet of clay. The close of the course of history is represented by a stone which, cut out of the mountain without hands, smites the image on the feet, so that it falls and becomes as chaff; and the stone became a great mountain, and filled the earth.

Daniel and his friends are advanced to be principal counsellors; but the idolatrous king will have all his people worship an image he has erected. Daniel's three friends resist, and are thrown into a fiery furnace, but come forth unhurt; and the fire that was harmless to them burns those that bound them. King Nebuchadnezzar decrees honour to the God of Israel without abandoning his own idolatrous worship. The king again dreams, and now a terrible madness is predicted to be about to fall upon him, and does so. He recovers,

and again praises the God of heaven. The scene changes, and the curtain rises on a spectacle that has tempted painters and poets in every age. Belshazzar, the king, makes a feast to a thousand of his lords. In the midst of the revelry a fiery message is seen blazing on the wall of his banquet-hall; and when none of the court soothsayers can read it, again Daniel is called, and reads in it the discomfiture and overthrow of the king by the Persians. The tale ends with sublime brevity, "and in that night was Belshazzar, king of the Chaldeans, slain." Another monarch occupies the throne, Darius the Mede, and now Daniel is exposed to the same danger from which his friends had suffered under Nebuchadnezzar. Darius forbids prayer, and Daniel persists in prayer, and is thrown into a den of lions, but is delivered; while the conspirators, who as a punishment are cast into the den, are devoured one and all. So far the book has been, with the exception of Nebuchadnezzar's vision, historical, or rather biographical; now it becomes distinctly apocalyptic. Daniel tells first his vision of five beasts coming out of the sea, each fiercer than that which preceded it, till one, fierce and destructive above all the others, arises that is smitten by the Messiah coming to His kingdom after the judgment. Again there is a change; now, however, the change is in the language employed. Up to this point, with the exception of the first chapter and the opening verses of the second, the language employed has been Aramaic or Chaldee, but now it is Hebrew, and along with this change there is greater directness of statement. The Persian monarchy is but newly founded, and yet Daniel points out the power before which it is

to fall—"the prince of Grecia." Again, Daniel has a vision of the deliverance of Jerusalem and the coming of the Messiah, and the time is indicated by weeks. A mysterious vision is given him of a contest in heaven between Michael, the angelic prince of Israel, and the prince of Persia. Next follows a chapter that seems to us intruded, which tells of the wars of the kings of the north and the south of Syria and Egypt, namely, under the Seleucid and Lagid princes respectively. The prophecy ends again with a picture. There by the river Heddekel stands Daniel, and he sees on the banks of the river Michael the great prince and other holy angels; and holy angel answers holy angel in responsive song, the one entreating to know when these things should be, and the other answering in true apocalyptic manner by mysterious numbers and symbolical statements.

In considering the question of the age of the books of the Old Testament we must divest ourselves of the notion that they were written and published in the form we have them. The prophets seem to have written down their prophecies after declaiming them to the people, and these separate leaflets were then combined. In the case of Jeremiah, the arrangement of these leaflets in the copy which guided the Masoretes differed considerably from that from which the Septuagint translator made his version. All the prophets show signs of having been arranged by an editor on principles which it is, to say the least, difficult to comprehend at this time of day. Whatever the principle of arrangement was, it was never chronological, and rarely does the editor seem to have been critically fastidious to exclude the work of interpolators. In the

case of Daniel the editor is probably the author, at all events of the Hebrew introduction. The Aramaic narratives which follow may have proceeded from Daniel himself, only they are disconnected; each has a certain completeness in itself which precludes the idea that it was written as a portion of a larger whole. The marked change of method when the prophet begins to speak in his own person, first in the Aramaic seventh chapter and then in the following chapters, is to be noted. The eleventh chapter is of a different character from the rest. The fact that Daniel is always spoken of in the third person in the historical portion does not necessarily invalidate the assertion that Daniel is the author; for in the historical fragment published in the prophecies of Isaiah, and also forming part of the Book of Kings, usually attributed to the authorship of Isaiah, the writer speaks of himself in the third person; so, too, with Jeremiah in the historical part of the book, and indeed with all the prophets in the beginning of the book of their prophecy. While prophetic usage in ordinary narrative was to put the narrator in the third person, in regard to vision it was different; the narrator is in the first person, as may be seen in Isa. vi. 1 and Zechariah and Ezekiel throughout. This would explain the change from the third person of the sixth chapter of Daniel to the first in the seventh. The change of language from Chaldee to Hebrew which occurs in the succeeding chapters requires another explanation. The combining of the Chaldee and Hebrew portions, however, is probably the work of an editor.

There seems no reasonable doubt that there was a person who bore the name of Daniel. Ezekiel (chap.

xxviii. 3) refers to his wisdom, and (chap. xiv. 14, 20) mentions him along with Job and Noah as a model of holiness. And of Ezekiel's authenticity it is admitted there is no reasonable doubt. Of course the mere fact that a man named Daniel occupied a prominent place in the captivity does not prove that the book which goes by his name was written by him. Yet unless there is good reason shown to the contrary, we may presume that people would not put themselves to the trouble of lying. This possibility will be almost a probability if, further, it can be shown that the book was written in the period when its alleged author lived.[1]

If Professor Margoliouth is right, that the Hebrew in which the original of the Book of Ecclesiasticus was written was Rabbinic, and if from this it may be deduced that this was the ordinary Hebrew of literature, then not only Ecclesiastes, but also Daniel, must have been composed in an age greatly earlier. However striking Professor Margoliouth's discovery may be, it is perhaps wiser not to lay too much stress on it till the accuracy of his method and conclusions are tested by being applied to the Psalter of Solomon. Similar

[1] Renan (*Histoire du peuple Israel*, iii. p. 139) admits that Daniel lived, but asserts it to have been long before the traditional date. He regards the late Alexandrian addition of "Susanna and the Elders" as containing a veritable tradition. The criticism that involves accepting "Susanna and the Elders" as genuine is not to be trusted. Renan asserts that Daniel would only be twelve years old when Ezekiel (xiv. 14, 20) refers to him in terms of such high respect. We, for our part, were not aware that the chronology of Ezekiel's prophecies was so clearly fixed, or the implied date of Daniel's captivity so certain, that this deduction could be made. Daniel might already have been twenty or thirty even when he was taken to Babylon. No one knows better than M. Renan how indefinite is the meaning of יֶלֶד. Rehoboam was forty-one when he ascended the throne, yet (2 Chron. x. 8) those who were brought up with him are called יְלָדִים.

linguistic peculiarities have been found by Professor Margoliouth in the Wisdom of Solomon, though he says nothing of the versification; but there is the doubt whether it is a translation or a work composed in Greek, a doubt much lessened by his article in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society*. If there is any truth in Mr. Margoliouth's method, Daniel must have been written long before the Maccabean struggle, the date ordinarily fixed upon by critics. Certainly, while not yet prepared to adopt it as clearly proved, we admit a verisimilitude in his method which deserves consideration. One thing is certain, that the Aramaic of Daniel is much more akin to the Aramaic of Ezra than to that of Onkelos.

There are, however, other arguments in regard to Daniel, the force of which is obvious even to those who are not able to translate Greek into Rabbinic. There are a number of references to the habits and customs of the Babylonians which have been confirmed by recent discoveries. For the majority of these we must direct the reader to Dr. Pusey on Daniel; but there is one the full force of which, as it seems to us, has not been estimated. It was assumed that the writer of Daniel had made a blunder when he declared that Belshazzar was the last king of Babylon, as Herodotus had called the last king Labynetus. Berosus, in Greek transliteration, had named him Nabonedus. This name has been confirmed by the cylinder inscriptions from Babylon. Here very early authorities name only Nabunahid, under one form or other of his name, as the last king of Babylon; every trace of any other had disappeared a couple of centuries

or so after the capture of Babylon. Yet cylinders have been found that couple the names of Nabunahid and Bil-sar-usur together, regarding the latter as co-regent with the former. We know from Berosus that Nabunahid was defeated in the open and fled to Borsippa, leaving the city to its fate. His son being king along with him, there would be a centre given to the defence that would have been otherwise wanting. One indirect proof from the Book of Daniel showing that the writer was aware that Belshazzar was not sole monarch must be noted. The reward promised to the interpreter of the inscription which mysteriously appears on the wall of the banqueting-hall is, that he shall be made the *third* person in the kingdom—not the second, as was the case in regard to Joseph in Egypt. An inventor would have felt bound to explain why it was the third position that was thus offered. Even one writing long after the event, but who happened, amid the general ignorance of his contemporaries, to know historically what the real state of the case was, would have been under the necessity of narrating the fact of Nabunahid's raising his son to share his throne on his own defeat and retirement to Borsippa. Only a contemporary, to whom the events were so familiar that he expected every one else to know them, would have neglected to give the necessary information, namely, that Belshazzar being himself only the second person in the kingdom, the third place alone was open to him to bestow on any other. It is impossible that a forger should blunder so luckily. The name of Nabunahid was known alike in Berosus and in the Greek historians, but Belshazzar appeared nowhere; yet the writer of Daniel is aware

of his existence, and that he is only colleague with his father; and so well aware of it, that he implies but does not state the fact. This is an argument for the author being contemporary of the events he relates which would need very strong counter proof to invalidate.

This argument for the authenticity of Daniel, which we have advanced above, has been met sometimes by asserting that some true tradition may have been preserved among the Jews of the name and fate of this last king of Babylon. But this is inherently improbable for several reasons. A tradition of a person of note may be kept up through centuries in connection with some place that has been made famous through his deeds. Or a race, even in migration, may retain in memory the name and fame of some one of their own worthies. But in the case of Belshazzar, a name forgotten in Babylon and its neighbourhood—forgotten by the descendants of the Babylonians—is retained by an alien race that some score of years after began their migration from Babylon back to their former land. It seems highly improbable that a race separated from him by place and lineage should perpetuate the name of Belshazzar through three centuries. Josephus confounds Belshazzar with his father, and asserts that Belshazzar "was called Naboandel by the Babylonians." Thus, according to the opinion above combated, a tradition that had survived the fall of two dynasties, a migration of some 600 miles, a revolutionary war, die out in less than two centuries. Usually when a tradition has lived three centuries, it takes a catastrophe to abolish it wholly; but no catastrophe had happened between

the times of Judas Maccabæus and the childhood of Josephus. Any student of the Talmud sees how little the Jewish nationality valued historic facts as facts. The Jews thus were a nation the least likely to have preserved through three centuries a name and a history that had otherwise been forgotten. The fact, which Herodotus and Xenophon mention, of a great national feast being held when the city was taken, is not narrated by Daniel,—a thing which an ordinary historian would certainly have mentioned,—although it is implied in the solemn feast being held in which Belshazzar assembled "a thousand of his lords, and drank wine before the thousand." The whole attention is directed to that one scene, and not a gleam of light is thrown on the revelry that fills the city with drunkenness and leaves the river gates open; still less any hint that conspiracy and treachery conjoined with the carelessness of festivity to produce the catastrophe.[1] As few beside himself could know what took place in that banqueting-hall, the prophet narrates that; all knew that the city had been taken and how—that he leaves untold.

The main objection to the authenticity of Daniel is the belief that prophecy, like other miracles, is impossible. We do not assert that all those who have doubted the authenticity of Daniel have done so for this reason; we do, however, assert that the majority

[1] Nothing in Daniel militates against the fact implied in the recently discovered proclamation of Cyrus, that the priests and many of the dignitaries of the Babylonian empire had entered into treacherous negotiations with Cyrus. It is implied that Daniel is not one of the members of the court; it is not impossible that alike as a Jew and as a member of the old court party, he may have had some privity of the negotiations, if not share in them.

of the critics who deny the authenticity of Daniel do so as part of a general assertion that all prophecy is *post eventum*. Leaving aside the general belief in prophecy, which renders it certain that true prophecy must have existed somewhere and at some time, to account for it even in the Book of Daniel itself there are portions that tax the powers of rationalistic exegesis to the utmost to show that they are not prophetic. We are told, first in the interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream, chap. ii., then in Daniel's own vision, chap. vii., that there are to be four great monarchies, beginning with the Assyrian monarchy in Babylon. The fourth monarchy has been most generally recognised to be the Roman empire, which as yet has had no successor. If Daniel wrote B.C. 160, he must have had an amount of prescience, that can really be called nothing less than prophecy, if he foresaw the coming power of Rome. To recognise in the Republic that had but recently staggered beneath the blows of Hannibal, and had with difficulty subdued Philip of Macedon, the power that was to tread down every other power—to be an oppressor of Israel yet more terrible than Epiphanes, who was even then, if Daniel was written in 160, persecuting the Jewish people fiercely and relentlessly, required a power of foresight more than human. That the Romans ever could prove oppressors was not in the thought of the Jews of that time, as may be proved by the treaty which Simon, the brother of Judas Maccabæus, made with the Roman Senate. They were welcomed as deliverers from the oppressions of the Seleucid princes.

There are only two ways of escape open: either on

the one hand to deny that this fourth monarchy is the Roman, or to assert that Daniel lived after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. But the latter hypothesis is impossible, because Josephus (*Antiq.* Book xi.) quotes Daniel, in fact transfers a large portion of Daniel to his own pages. His belief was, then, that Daniel was part of the original Canon; and we know (*Contra Apionem*) that he believed all the books of the Jewish Canon to have been written previous to the reign of Artaxerxes Longimanus. Parallel with this is the fact that the evangelists represent our Lord quoting Daniel the prophet. It seems difficult to put the Synoptists later than the last quarter of the first century, and so contemporary with Josephus. Thus, at a time when Daniel, according to this hypothesis, was but freshly written and had had no time to spread, it is yet acknowledged to such an extent among Jew and Christian alike that its discovery had ceased to be remembered. But we have earlier testimony in the First Book of Maccabees, for the author represents Mattathias quoting the stedfastness of Daniel and of his three companions. The date of First Maccabees is usually put shortly after the death of John Hyrcanus I. (*circa* 110 B.C.).

As to the other alternative. It is impossible to dispute that the first monarchy is the Babylonian. As to those which follow, there are three theories put forward by those who deny that the fourth monarchy is the Roman empire. The first is that the Medo-Persian empire is the second and the empire of Alexander is the third. The fourth, according to this theory, is the empire of the Seleucids. This view is

held by Bertholdt and Zöckler on this hypothesis: The first three monarchies each differed in language, institutions, and laws from that which preceded it, and each occupied a considerably larger portion of the earth's surface than its predecessor. We should expect then that the fourth empire would differ in these very respects from the empires that had gone before. This expectation would be rendered all the stronger by the express statements (Dan. vii. 7): "The fourth beast, terrible, and powerful, and strong exceedingly—and it was diverse from all the beasts that went before it." It was then stronger than any of the beasts before it, and differed more from them than they differed from each other. This admirably suits the Roman empire as compared with the Macedonian, Persian, or Babylonian empires. It certainly was stronger than they, and had a larger dominion, and it was republican in theory, even while ruled over by an emperor; while those were monarchical in theory as well as in fact. The iron discipline of the legions which broke the phalanx and turned aside the charge of chariots, was certainly like iron, the metal which breaks everything else in pieces. Can this description by any possibility apply to the kingdom of the Seleucid princes? Their empire was notoriously less extensive than that, not only of Alexander, but than that of Darius Hystaspis, and than that of Nebuchadnezzar. It did not possess Egypt, which all the others had possessed. It had been forced to abandon Media, Bactria, and Parthia, and its possession of Palestine even was only some fifty years old, and secured after a struggle in which the Seleucids had received several

crushing defeats. They were not diverse from the powers which preceded them; the language, methods of government, institutions, all were their inheritance from Alexander the Great. It is impossible to maintain with anything like reasonableness that the fourth monarchy can be the empire of the Seleucid princes.

The second theory is that advanced by Professor Drummond (*Jewish Messiah*), that while the first monarchy is the Babylonian empire, the second is the Median, and the third the Persian. This view is also held by Bleek, Eichhorn, Ewald, Delitzsch, and Westcott. Delitzsch argues that the second kingdom is said to be inferior to the former, but that this inferiority is not predicted of the other two, and that this inferiority would be quite applicable to the kingdom under Darius the Mede. But if inferiority is not asserted in words, it is implied in the lower and ever lower character of the material, until the kingdoms that form the toes are of iron mingled with miry clay. The inferiority stated of the first is implied with regard to the others. Whatever the nature of the inferiority it was not extent, for the Persian empire exceeded the Babylonian; and the Macedonian, at least under Alexander, exceeded, though it may be not much, the Persian. The fact that the second and third did not differ from each other so much as the second from the first and the fourth from the third, may be merely adverted to. The main objection to this view is, that it is at war, not only with fact, but with the other ideas of the book, as to the character of the Medo-Persian monarchy. It may be urged that the author of Daniel might not unlikely be ignorant that

the Median monarchy occupied chronologically the same period as the Babylonian; but he could not be ignorant of what he said when, in the following chapter, he himself represented the Persian monarchy as a ram with two horns, one higher than the other, and the higher coming up last,—a representation that will be consistent only if the Medo-Persian power is regarded as one, and the Persian as the later rising but more powerful element in the monarchy.

In Belshazzar's feast the inscription written on the wall asserts merely that the empire would be given to the Persians,—upsetting by the way the notion that Medes alone succeeded the Babylonians,—but Daniel adds the Medes to the interpretation. When, further, Darius wishes to save Daniel from the effects of his own decree, he is answered by an appeal to the unchangeable character of the laws of the *Medes and Persians.* Throughout the whole book, the empire of the Persians is regarded as a joint possession, which they shared with the Medes. It is not to be conceived as possible that the author, who so persistently united them elsewhere, would split the joint monarchy into two successive empires in the vision he ascribes to Nebuchadnezzar and that he ascribes to Daniel. On the ordinary supposition that the silver arms and shoulders of the image represent the joint Medo-Persian empire, the duality of the monarchy is clearly suggested by the two arms. At first sight, the duality of the monarchy is not hinted at in any part of the description of the second of the four beasts; but the bear raises up *one* of its sides. There, it seems to us, is the duality of the two-sided monarchy suggested, and also the fact that one

of the portions—the Persian, to wit—is the more powerful. This splitting up of the Medo-Persian monarchy into two, a Median and a Persian, is as groundless as separating the empire of the Seleucids from that of Alexander.

But, again, if the Macedonian empire is the fourth empire, then, according alike to the fourth chapter of Daniel and the seventh, this empire is to be split up into *ten* portions; but this contradicts what is expressly stated in the eighth chapter, that the Macedonian empire was to be split into four. As if to make certain that the third beast is the Macedonian empire, it has four heads and four wings, which answer to the four horns of the goat; and in the eleventh chapter, third and fourth verses, Alexander the Great is referred to as a great king whose dominion should be divided toward the *four* winds of heaven. Fourfoldness is the characteristic mark of the Macedonian monarchy, as duality is of the Medo-Persian. At the risk of being thought utterly unscholarly, or what is worse, utterly uncritical, we would compare the history of the Roman empire, splitting into two portions, eastern and western, and then finally splitting up into numerous smaller monarchies that may be roughly reckoned as ten, ten being merely a symbol for a considerable number. That supposition does not contradict what the author says elsewhere, as does the supposition that the Macedonian is the fourth monarchy. On the supposition that the Seleucid monarchy is the fourth, the division into ten is even more inexplicable.

Another scheme which we must notice is Hitzig's.

It regards the head of gold to be, not Babylonia, but Nebuchadnezzar; the silver shoulder and arms to be Belshazzar, the belly and thighs of brass to be the Medo-Persian monarchy, and the legs of iron to be the Macedonian empire. Why the first two divisions should represent individuals, while the two latter represent dynasties, does not appear. We have shown good reason for believing that the writer of the Book of Daniel knew quite well that Belshazzar was not the immediate successor of Nebuchadnezzar, and knew, further, that he was not an independent monarch at all; this would be a sufficient reason for disbelieving this hypothesis, even if there were nothing else. Further, in the other symbol of the Persian empire, the ram, we have the duality of race strongly expressed in the two horns; this duality would be present in the image vision only if the shoulder and arms represented the Medo-Persian empire. So far as we know, there was no duality to be symbolised in Belshazzar's personal reign, unless it is acknowledged that he was Nabonnanid's son; then, of course, there would be that amount of duality; but, in that case, why should the kingships of Evil-Merodach and Neriglissa be omitted? Hitzig has to bring forward another explanation for the four beasts.

The main point of attack is the fourth monarchy. All these theories, however much they may differ otherwise, are agreed in identifying the fourth monarchy with the Macedonian, or at all events with the Seleucid portion of it. This really amounts to the identification of the fourth beast, with iron teeth and claws, and the iron legs of the image, with the he-goat

and his horn that became four. Whereas, the traditional view identifies the he-goat with the third beast, which had *four* heads and *four* wings, as the he-goat had four horns. The really strongest argument is that advanced by Delitzsch, that the little horn that springs out of one of the four horns is like the eleventh horn that sprang up and cast down three of the former ten horns. But when looked at, the identity is not so strong as Delitzsch would make out. The Macedonian horn made war against the stars of heaven, but the horn of the fourth beast does not; it is against these other horns that it makes war. There is, further, no explanation of the tenfoldness exhibited in both the symbols of the fourth monarchy, in the history of the Macedonian monarchy, nor any hint of a tenfoldness in the symbol of the he-goat. If, on the other hand, the fourth kingdom is regarded as the Roman, and the ten toes and ten horns the separate monarchies that have sprung from it, the eleventh horn may not be yet manifested. If the fourth monarchy means the Roman, then Daniel must have been a prophet, at least to this extent, that he foresaw its power. If this be granted to Daniel at all, the extent of it can be settled on grounds of exegesis; but alleged prophecy can never be brought forward to discredit the authenticity of the rest of it. That prophecy has been proved in regard to a portion of the Book of Daniel, makes it not improbable that the other events alleged to be foretold have really been so, and hence that the dates alleged when the visions appeared to the prophet are probably accurate.

Chronological difficulties alleged as to the date

of the siege of Jerusalem when Daniel was taken prisoner[1] are easily got over; and even though they had proved invincible, yet errors in numbers are easily made; and if the editor of Daniel's works was some later scribe, he might be erroneously informed, and might have made the mistake in question without thus any real suspicion being thrown on the authenticity of the book itself. That no Assyrian equivalent to Ashpenaz, Meshach, and Shadrach has been yet discovered, does not prove much, as what has not yet been discovered may be discovered at some future time. Further, the names may not be Assyrian, but Persian or some other tongue, if the astrologers were usually foreigners. Many singers with Italianized names appear among us who have no connection with Italy. This supposition is rendered all the more likely by the fact that Amuhia, the favourite wife of Nebuchadnezzar, to gratify whose taste he built the hanging gardens, was a Mede. It might be part of the same process to surround her with those who bore Median names. These gardens were intended to suggest the mountains of Media; it would make the suggestiveness greater to associate these imitative mountains with men with names from mountainous Media. The alleged error of speaking of *Casidim* or Chaldeans, when these are never known to be so spoken of in the monuments is another difficulty. In the first place, few monuments, comparatively speaking, have come down to us from Babylon; and further, we know that in later days "Chaldeans" was a name given to astrologers; the copyist or editors might

[1] *Vid.* Keil, *Commentary.* T. & T. Clark.

add this as an explanatory or illustrative note. We must remember that the device of footnotes was unknown to antiquity even at a date much later than this. Herodotus (Bk. i. 181) tells us the Chaldeans were "priests of the nation;" this makes it the more likely that the editor would add a note to explain who those referred to were. A great deal has been made of the presence of musical instruments with Greek names at the feast Nebuchadnezzar commanded in honour of the image he had erected. Here again we see editorial work. At the time the collection of Daniel's writings was made, or subsequently, when copies were being taken of them, the old names had sunk into desuetude, and the copyist made what he would no doubt consider the necessary alterations, and gave, instead of obsolete words, the then current Greek names. The spinnet was essentially the same instrument as the pianoforte; a similar change of name would easily occur in the East, slow to change as it is. We know printing is much less liable to introduce changes into works than manuscript is, yet there have been quite a number of changes introduced into our English Bible (Authorised Version) since it was first printed, and a still larger number are introduced into texts as they are customarily quoted.

Dr. Drummond (*Jewish Messiah*, p. 20) argues that all the dates in Daniel point to the time of Epiphanes, and beyond that is nebulous hope. But we have seen that the prophetic element in regard to the fourth empire is incontestible. Moreover, the objection that he hints at from the fact which he alleges is obvious that the descriptions of the scenes of the vision grow

more and more distinct as the time of Epiphanes is approached is not so conclusive as he believes it to be. This allegation, however, is true only if we do assume the eleventh chapter not to be the work of an interpolator; if it be so, then this objection falls to the ground. With the fifth verse of the eleventh chapter begins a narration which extends to the end of the fourth verse of the twelfth chapter. It comes in abruptly and interrupts the vision narrated in the tenth chapter. There is no hint at the beginning of the chapter that there are two monarchies especially to spring from that of Alexander the Great; it is abruptly assumed.

By some the theory is carried further, and Nebuchadnezzar is supposed to be equivalent to Antiochus Epiphanes. It is supposed that this prophecy was composed to encourage the Jews in their struggle against their oppressor. It is difficult to understand what in the Book of Daniel is to be regarded as so encouraging to the Jews. The three companions of Daniel will not bow down to the image raised by Nebuchadnezzar, and for their reward they are cast into a fiery furnace; from that death they are miraculously delivered. That could be no encouragement to men to fight valorously so as to turn to flight armies of aliens. The three Hebrew children simply submitted to the tyrant's executioners. Passive resistance was all that they opposed to the tyrant's force. Active conflict was what the Maccabees and their followers were to be encouraged to. The same lesson of passive resistance in the hope of miraculous deliverance might be deduced from Daniel's deliverance from the lions'

den, from his miraculous discovery of the king's forgotten dream, and the deliverance by that means, not only of himself, but also of all the magicians; all these narratives would encourage a fatalistic spirit and a non-resistance policy. We do not deny that Mattathias is represented as quoting these instances given above, but they are quoted as proofs that God would help. The fact that they were well known made it natural to refer to them, but this does not make them the natural product of imagination directed to produce encouragement. Josephus' tales of the victories of Moses in Ethiopia would have been more to the purpose. If the writer had made Nebuchadnezzar perish miserably under his lycanthropy, it might be urged that this might encourage the Jews to hope that in like manner Epiphanes would die. One has only to read the Talmudic account of the alleged miserable fate of Titus, the conqueror of Jerusalem, to see how Jewish imagination thus took revenge on those who had oppressed or vanquished them. Jewish hatred grows more and more venomous as time separates the sufferers from the actual wrong-doer. Josephus can, not only tolerate, but even admire Titus and Vespasian. The Talmudists tell the most frightful stories of their sufferings and death. The Book of Daniel treats Nebuchadnezzar with a very considerable amount of respect, at least as compared with his grandson Belshazzar.

One of the most insoluble of the riddles connected with Daniel is the identification of Darius the Median. This is a difficulty which even the most strenuous upholder of the late date of Daniel cannot escape

solving in some way. When Lenormant bears such emphatic testimony to the fidelity with which the author records Babylonian customs, he could be guilty of no such obvious blunder as mistaking the nationality of Darius Hystaspis and the chronology of his reign. There must have been some traditions as to some one at that period set as satrap or king over Babylon whose name was translatable into Darius. Xenophon in his *Cyropædia* seems to follow some such tradition of the uncle of Cyrus Cyaxares the Mede being on the throne. Delitzsch holds that this hypothesis contradicts the book itself; that, however, seems doubtful. Throughout the book the Medo-Persian power is regarded as one, though dual. Although Darius the Mede is said to have taken (קִבֵּל) the kingdom (v. 31, A. vi. 1), yet again (ix. 1) it is said he was made king (הָמְלַךְ) over the realm of the Chaldeans, which would imply some other authority which made him king. But, moreover, קִבֵּל really means rather to "receive" than to "take," so that the very words of Daniel imply another actively employed in making him *king* or *satrap*. Delitzsch's objection, that vi. 28 implies that the reign of Darius the Mede and that of Cyrus the Persian must have been separate and successive, though plausible, is not absolutely conclusive. If Darius were merely a satrap, yet he had a reign during which Daniel prospered, while there was another reign, that of Cyrus the over-lord, during which also Daniel prospered. But if Cyaxares—according to Xenophon, the uncle of Cyrus—is Darius of Daniel—if he was made by his nephew king over Babylon, so as to enjoy if only the semblance of supreme authority, while Cyrus

retained the succession to himself, we should have a state of matters that would fully meet the case. Cyrus might even reckon himself king of Babylon while his uncle occupied nominally the supreme seat. Certainly a man seventy-two years old was scarcely at a time of life to carry out such an expedition as that against Babylon. It must be regarded as an unsolved problem; but a few more inscriptions from Babylon may turn up and alter its whole complexion.

The question of the different languages is one that may perhaps be settled by referring it to the work of the editor; but it would seem more likely that the editor would leave that in Aramaic which he found in Aramaic, and present that in Hebrew which he found in Hebrew. Moreover, there seems to be something like a probable reason for some of the prophecies at all events not being written in Aramaic. Writing in the time of Cyrus to proclaim that Greece, in contact with which Cyrus had but comparatively recently come, was ultimately to overthrow the empire he was founding, was a thing not to be communicated to the large public who could read Chaldee, but revealed only to that smaller number who knew and could understand Hebrew.

To sum up rapidly, there seems great probability that the main portions of this prophecy were written by Daniel himself, and that the book that goes by his name was made up by an editor, probably at the end of the Persian period, when it was possible to interpret and put a name to the monarchy which was to overthrow the Persian empire.

CHAPTER II.

THE BOOK OF ENOCH: ITS DATE AND LANGUAGE.

WE have already indicated pretty clearly our own opinion as to the date and language of the Book of Enoch, but it is needful to lay before our readers the reasons which have induced us to come to these conclusions.

As to the language in which it was written, it will be observed we have assumed it to be Hebrew or Aramaic. It is not a very easy matter to settle this, as may be realised when one thinks of the actual state of the case. The Book of Enoch is quoted in Jude, and cited in the Epistle of Barnabas as if Scripture. Further, it is referred to by several of the Church Fathers. The last trace of real knowledge of it is the fairly copious extracts made from it by George Syncellus in the eighth century.[1] After this the book may be said to have disappeared till near the last quarter of last century. Bruce the African traveller brought home three copies with him from Abyssinia; one of these he presented to the Royal Library in Paris, another to the Bodleian in Oxford, and the third he retained in Kinnaird House. Though they were brought to Europe thus in 1773, for more than a quarter of a century they were as little used, one may say, as if

[1] Fabricius, *Codex Pseudepigraphicus Veteris Testamenti.*

they had still been in Abyssinia. M. Sylvestre de Sacy in 1800 published an article on the Book of Enoch in the *Magasin Encyclopédique*, i. 368, to which he appended a translation of the first sixteen chapters; but the article excited no notice. In 1821 Archbishop Laurence published a translation, and seventeen years afterwards published an edition of the text. Further discoveries of manuscripts have superseded the work of Laurence, but still to him the honour belongs of reintroducing to Christendom the Book of Enoch.

We have the book now in Ethiopic; but that version must be a translation from Greek, as the quotations from Enoch by the early Fathers clearly prove. But is even the Greek the original language? The extracts preserved for us by George Syncellus show that the language of the Greek recension of Enoch was very much Hebraized. While that certainly affords a presumption in favour of regarding the Greek as the translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original, still this does not afford us anything like absolute certainty, as the forger might imitate the Greek of the Septuagint. Still the probability that it is such a translation is high when we bear in mind that critical skill was not likely to be great among the Alexandrian Jews. But, further, the fact that the names of the angels are all susceptible of Hebrew etymologies, makes the probability yet greater. What seems conclusive, however, is that etymological reasons are assigned which have force only in Hebrew or Aramaic. Thus chap. vi.: "The angels descended on the summit of Mount Hermon, and they called it Mount Hermon because they had sworn on it and bound them-

selves by a curse." This statement has no meaning unless in Hebrew or Aramaic, in both of which tongues חֵרֶם, *ḥerem*, is "a curse." In chap. lxxvii. the names of the winds are explained from Hebrew derivations. In the following chapter "the names of the sun are these, the first Orjares and the second Tomas." *Orjares* is equivalent to אוֹרִי־חֶרֶס, *Ori ḥeres*, the light of the sun; and *Tomas* is as clearly שֶׁמֶשׁ, *Shemesh*, the sun. So also the moon has four names, all of which have obvious Hebrew representatives. A more striking proof that Enoch was written in Hebrew or Aramaic is found in chap. xc. ver. 38: "They all became white bullocks, and the first one was the word; and that word was a great animal, and had on its head large and black horns." As the reference here is to the Messiah, one is tempted to regard this as an assertion that the Messiah was the essential word of God. But the Ethiopic word here is not the equivalent of the Greek λόγος, but of ῥῆμα. This makes it almost certain that the Greek translator had before him רְאֵם, *reem*, "wild ox," and not having an easy Greek equivalent he transliterated it ῥῆμ, which the Ethiopic translator thought stood for ῥῆμα. We may then assume that the original language of the Book of Enoch was one or other of the two Semitic tongues in use in Palestine. This conclusion carries with it the further conclusion that the book was written in Palestine; a view that is borne out by the topographical allusions and the general atmosphere of the book.

The next question to settle is the structure of the book. Is it one book written by one author at one time? or is it a congeries of books put together by an

editor? or, again, is it a work in which there is an original nucleus around which accretions have grown? Even a cursory reading enables us to lay aside the first of these views as untenable. We find portions in which, not Enoch, but Noah is the speaker. Again, even in those parts where Enoch is the speaker, there are portions that imply a different state of matters in the world around from what is implied in others. In one portion certain names are given to the principal angels, but these do not agree with those in other parts of the book. Further, there are certain passages that indicate a new departure. The first chapter begins: "The words of the blessing of Enoch wherewith he blessed the chosen and the just," etc.; chap. xxxvii. again begins: "The second vision of wisdom which Enoch the son of Jared, the son of Mahaleleel, the son of Cainan, the son of Enos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam saw." Chap. lxxii. begins: "The book of the courses of the luminaries of the heaven." Then at chap. xcii. we have the words, "written by Enoch, the scribe, all this doctrine of wisdom." These opening formulæ indicate a new beginning; and when special peculiarities present themselves along with this, we are at liberty to conclude these portions, thus separated, to be by different authors. Further, it may be stated that from the beginning of the book to chap. xxxvi. seems to be the work of the same author who has written lxxii. to xci. To mention no more, the angelology is the same in both. The intermediate section, that from xxxvii. to lxxi., called the Book of Similitudes, seems to have been written by the author of the fourth section, xcii. to cvii. The resemblance here is not so

striking, yet both parts have this in common to distinguish them from the rest of the books—in both are Noachian fragments.

Before we can discuss the question as to whether our present Book of Enoch is the result of accretion or editing, we must fix the relative age of the parts. In regard to this Lücke (*Einl. in die Offenb. Joh.*), Schürer (*Jewish People*), Vernes (*Hist. des Idees Mess.*), Schödde (*The Book of Enoch*), and many others think the groundwork of the Book of Enoch is the portion from the beginning to chap. xxxvi. along with chap. lxxii. to the end, and that the Book of Parables or Similitudes is a later addition. Ewald, almost alone, maintains the opposite view. A matter of this kind is not one in which opinions are to be decided by show of hands. The reasons advanced must be considered and weighed. But when looked at they consist mainly in assumptions of a certain doctrinal development exhibited in the one portion above the other. Nothing, however, is more uncertain than such subjective reasoning. Other reasons are drawn from the assumed late date of Daniel and the obvious dependence of this book, and especially of this part of it, on Daniel. But the age of Daniel is not necessarily so late as some critics allege.[1]

If we pass away from these views to consider the book itself, in the first place it is generally admitted that the middle section—that of the parables—is the finest. A writer is usually sufficiently aware of the merit of his works, and would be little inclined to sacrifice his own independent fame to furthering the

[1] See above.

fame of another. It is clear that if the portion from chaps. xxxvi. to lxxi. were the older, and gained some popularity, the idea of adding to that portion other chapters to set forth the writer's own views would easily occur to the mind, and the temptation to give that idea actuality might be strong if the book to be added to was very popular and opinion running high. It may be replied, however, that in matters of taste there is always an element of doubt, and if we rest our argument on the superior beauty of this middle portion our conclusion will be to some extent uncertain.

Let us, however, look at the passages themselves. In the middle sections—that is, the section with the parables and the section of the weeks—we find Noachian additions made. The Noachian fragments are later than the part to which they have been added, for there is no trace of a complete book of Noah having been ransacked for portions to be tagged on to the Book of Enoch. They seem more like portions invented, and added by some one who wished to give greater completeness to the revelations. But if so, the question comes up, why did he not make additions to the other portions as well? Is not this the simplest solution, that the first and third sections were not yet in existence. This might well be held as conclusive evidence. Another argument, however, may be advanced, more constructive in character. It is a received tenet in criticism that the more elaborate form of a prophecy, vision, etc., is the later one. If we find a scene merely indicated in one book, and in another full and worked out, and details awanting in the other supplied, we regard this second form as the later. We have in the

two portions of the Book of Enoch two examples of this. If we turn to chap. xli. we find a description of physical things as under the command of the Lord of spirits. Ver. 3: "And these mine eyes saw the secrets of the lightning, and of the thunder, and the secrets of the wind, how they are divided to blow over the earth, and the secrets of the clouds and of the dew; and I saw there the places whence they proceed, and how they saturate the dust of the earth. 4. And there I saw the closed receptacles whence the winds are divided out, and the receptacles of the hail, and the mist, and the clouds." He then proceeds to describe the courses of the sun and moon, and ends with the declaration: "For no angel hinders, neither can any power hinder; for the Judge sees them all, and sees them all before Him." In chap. lx., which is a Noachian addition to the Book of Parables, we find far greater elaboration. Noah, as Enoch, sees the receptacle of the winds, etc., but he has a much more detailed account of thunder and lightning, and, as we saw above, tells how a spirit directs the flashes and the rests between them. Angels, far from being excluded, as in chap. xli., have quite a list of services that they fulfil in regard to nature. Then, ver. 21: "And when the spirit of the rain moves himself out of its receptacle, the angels come and open the receptacles and lead him out, when he scatters the rain over the earth, and as often as it is joined to the waters of the earth." We need not proceed further, or describe the angels flying each with a long cord in his hand "to measure withal." Enough has been given to show greater elaboration in this Noachian portion than in the earlier portion of the Book of Parables.

When, however, we turn to the section beginning with chap. lxxii., known commonly as "the book of the luminaries of the Heaven," we find an amount of detailed elaboration which puts the portions previously considered completely in the shade. Thus, ver. 3: "And I saw six doors, out of which the sun ascends, and six doors into which the sun descends; the moon, too, rises and sets through these doors, and the leaders of the stars, and those also whom they lead. Six in the east and six in the west in definite order. There are also many windows to the right and left of those doors. 4. And first goes forth the great light named the sun; his circle is the circle of the heavens, and it is wholly filled with lightning and warming fire. 5. The chariots on which he mounts are driven by the wind." We need not occupy space and time quoting the way in which the author, by means of these doors, explains the lengthening and shortening of the day, nor how the phases of the moon are treated with equal minuteness of detail. The stars also are considered, though not so fully. Having occupied four chapters with sun, moon, and stars, in chap. lxxvi. the writer takes up terrestrial meteorology. For the winds there are also twelve doors, from which they issue to blow upon the earth: "three in the front, three in the setting, three to the right side of heaven, and three to the left." In other words, there are three doorways in each of the four quarters of the heavens. The east wind comes from the first doorway in the east, but inclining toward the south; out of it comes destruction, drought, heat, and death. Through the second door, in the midst, comes the right mixture, rain and fruit-

fulness, welfare and dew; and through the third door, that lying toward the north, comes forth cold and drought." Thus each of the twelve doorways are spoken of, and their meteorological products characterised. There would seem no further proof needed to show that there is greater elaboration in the physical theory of the universe in this portion than even in the Noachian fragment, and therefore *à fortiori* more than in the Book of Parables or Similitudes.

The other example of greater elaboration assumes that chap. xcii., with the latter part of xci., has been written by the same hand as the Book of Similitudes. In the portion we have indicated, the course of universal history is rapidly sketched out in twelve symbolic weeks, in each of which one event is made prominent. When we compare this with the long account given of bullocks and rams in the section lxxxv.–xc., it is impossible to deny that there are far more details given in the latter than in the former, If, then, greater elaboration proves a more recent date, then the Book of Similitudes is older than the rest of Enoch.

The order of composition would then seem to be first the nucleus, the Book of Similitudes, chaps. xxxvii.–lix., lxi.–lxiv., lxix. 25 possibly, lxx., lxxi., xcii., xcix. Next the Noachian fragments, lx., lxv.–lxix. 24. Then the book of the fall of the angels, with not impossibly the exordium—that is to say, from chaps. i. to xxxvi., and by the same hand lxxii.–xci. 11, c.–cvii., the last chapter being added by another hand still.

Having fixed the relative age of the different portions of the Book of Enoch, it will now be our duty to

endeavour to find out the absolute age of these respective portions.

In doing this we must bear with us certain principles. Pseudepigraphic apocalyptists not infrequently give a sketch of universal history, or, at all events, of that of the people of God from the date of the person whose name they have assumed. The general phenomena of such sketches are growing fulness and clearness to the time of the actual author, and then sudden confusion contradictory of the facts of history. Not infrequently the writer posits immediately after the time he is writing the coming of the Messiah and the last judgment. This leads one to lay down as a canon that the time of the composition of an Apocalypse is between the latest event clearly described in it and its first unmistakable break from the actual facts of history. Further, students of these pseudepigraphic Apocalypses observe that there are indications more or less clear of the background of circumstances implied in the visions. If persecutors are denounced who have shed the blood of the saints, then there is clear evidence that the state of matters in which the book was composed was one of violent persecution. If, on the other hand, it is rich men who are accused of oppressing the poor, we easily see that the time cannot be one of persecution in the ordinary sense of the term. So, too, we may see evidences of a time of actual conflict in the very wording of the Apocalypse, when the armies of the enemies of God are referred to. Our second canon would be: "the time of the composition of a book is that which affords the most suitable background to it."

Having laid down those canons, let us now apply them to the different portions of the Book of Enoch. And in doing so we would consider our canon in relation to the Book of Similitudes or Parables, and as being the more general, would apply to it our second canon first.

It has been noted by most writers on Enoch, that the circumstances of the people presupposed in the one are quite different from those presupposed in the other. In the middle section those denounced are the rich, the powerful, who have a tendency towards heathenism. This might apply to the period of the Lagid princes. Under these Egyptian princes wealth spread among the people of Judea, and with wealth a tendency towards idolatry and Hellenism. A period not unlike it occurred nearly a hundred years later under Queen Alexandra; but religious people would have said nothing against the princes and those in power, for the Pharisaic party, that most akin to the Essenes, had completely the confidence of Alexandra.[1] But, further, there is a note of time which is of some importance. In chap. lvi. 5, it is said:[2] "In those days the angels will assemble and turn their heads towards the east, toward the people of Parthia and Media, in order to cause a movement among the kings there, so that a spirit of unrest may come upon them; and they will be roused from their throne, so that they shall break out of their camps like lions and like hungry wolves amidst their flocks. And they shall come up

[1] One may remark it is utterly unlike the state of matters in the war of Barcochba, so far as we know anything of it.

[2] Dillmann.

and tread the land of their elect, and the land of his elect shall be before them a threshing-floor and a path. But the city of my saints will be a stumbling-block to their horses. And this battle shall they set against each other, and their claims of right will be made strong against themselves, and no one will recognise neighbour or brother, nor the son his father or mother, till there are dead bodies enough through their death; and the punishment on them will not be in vain." It is to be observed here that both Parthians and Medes are referred to, and if we would identify the point of time indicated, we must discover some incident in which both of these nationalities were involved. In the beginning of the reign of Antiochus the Great, two brothers, Molo and Alexander, governors respectively of Media and Persia, rebelled, and defeated the armies sent against them. Antiochus himself marched against them, and subdued them. From this campaign he dashed into Syria, and wrested it from the hands of Ptolemy, but at length was defeated at the battle of Raphia. Shortly after this there was another revolt on the part of the Medes, this time aided by the kings of Bactria and Parthia, and against them Antiochus marched. This, then, is a case in which Medes and Parthians were joined together in one uprising, and it was the case in no later conflict. We hold that the writer of the middle portion had this event in his mind when he penned this chapter. It may be objected to this view, that Antiochus did not immediately on his victory in the East again at once swoop down upon Egypt; but the writer expected him to do so, and in this expectation wrote what he did. The account of the campaign in the Holy Land is

unhistorical, and fits with no expedition of Parthians, Medes, or anybody. In fact, as the Seleucids and Lagids were always ready enough to fly at each other's throats, it was but natural to expect that this new victory of Antiochus would bring him down upon Egypt again. In later times the Parthians did invade the Holy Land,—once when they compelled Herod to flee; but the Medes were not with them as a separate power. It is no answer to say that Horace uses *Medus* instead of *Parthus* repeatedly. The fact that Horace was a Roman, educated in Hellenic literature, made him congenitally liable to misunderstand the Eastern nationalities. Persians were often spoken of as Medes among the Greeks; hence when the Parthian empire appeared occupying much the same territory as Persia had done among the Greeks, Medes and Persians were often mingled; so, as a more musical word, Horace often preferred *Medus* to *Parthus*. The writer of Enoch was under no such temptation to imitate the Greek confusion of names. Herodotus had comparatively little meaning for him, and he, moreover, had no Augustus to flatter with subtle implied references to Alexander the Great. The probability then is that the Book of Parables was written just after the news reached Palestine of the successful campaign which Antiochus had carried on in the East, and while his movements in the immediate future were still uncertain — that is to say, approximately, in the year B.C. 210. If we are right in our view that the Book of Weeks, xcii.–xcix. (including a portion of xci.), is part of the nucleus, and therefore written by the same hand as the Book of Similitudes which we are now

considering, we have confirmatory evidence of our contention as to the date of this portion of the Book of Enoch. The seventh week is the one in which the writer himself is living. He denounces the rebelliousness of the people, — their rebelliousness evidently, not in a political, but in the religious sense of the word; they were rebellious against God and against His law. It was this rebellion against the restriction of God's law that was the main character of Judaism as it would strike a solitary zealous for the law. Had the gallant struggle of Judas the Maccabee been even inaugurated, that struggle would have been mentioned in the weeks of the world's history. The nearness of that event, the presence of the Hasmonæans on the throne, all would have tended to make that struggle more prominent than even it had a claim to be, not less so. We may safely, therefore, hold that the date of this part of Enoch is, at all events, before the Maccabean struggle.

In regard to the Noachian fragments, it would be more difficult to come to a decision if they were standing isolated and alone; but approximately their date can be fixed in relation to the other portions. Their composition must be later than the Book of Parables to which they have been appended, else they could not have been so appended; and earlier than the book of "the fall of the angels," or "the Book of the luminaries," else they would been appended to some extent to them also.

It remains now to fix the date of "the book of the fall of the angels" and that "of the luminaries of Heaven." These, as has already been said, are by

one and the same hand; hence to fix the date of the one is to fix the date of the other.

We have a most important note of time in the section, chaps. lxxxv.–xc. In that section we have the history of the world narrated, as we have already said. Practically, our interest is concentrated on the ninetieth chapter, in which the writer gives us an account of his own time, and his visions of futurity. We shall quote a few verses of the most interesting part of this chapter. "After that I saw all the birds of heaven coming, the eagles, the vultures, the kites, and the ravens; and they began to devour the sheep, and to pick out their eyes, and to devour their flesh; and the sheep cried out because their bodies were devoured by the birds; and I cried and lamented in my sleep. And I looked till those sheep were devoured by dogs, by eagles, and by kites; and they left on them neither flesh, fell, nor muscle, till only their skeletons were left standing; and their skeletons fell to the earth, and the sheep became few. And small lambs were born to those white sheep, and they began to open their eyes and to see, and to cry to the sheep." The lambs here mean the חסידים (*Ḥasidim*), who called to their rulers; but in vain, because the rulers had given themselves over to Hellenism. The sheep "did not hear, because they were exceeding deaf, and their eyes above all terribly blinded. And I saw that the ravens flew on those lambs and took one of them." This probably refers to Onias III. "And I looked till horns grew on these lambs, and the ravens threw down these horns. And I looked till One great horn came forth, and One of those sheep, and their eyes were

opened. And the ravens fought and strove with this ram to break his horn, and he strove and cried that help might come to him. And I looked till the Lord of the sheep came and took the rod of anger in His hand and smote the earth that it rent asunder, and all the beasts and birds of the air fell down from the sheep and sank into the earth."

The point to be decided here is who is the ram with the notable horn. It turns to some extent on the war indicated by the birds of heaven flying on the lambs and the ram fighting against them. Volkmar, of course, asserts it to be the war of Barcochba. We know very little historically of the events of that war, and whatever is asserted to have taken place then is at least pretty safe from the danger of being definitely disproved. At the same time there is small possibility of affirmative proof. What we do know of the circumstances does not induce us to imagine that period to have been one likely to produce great literary activity. The great and decisive objection is that on this hypothesis the Maccabean struggle which bulked so largely in the minds of the people of Judea—at least shortly before the Barcochba period, as we see from Josephus — is utterly unnoticed. Another objection equally decisive, if one holds the authenticity of the Epistle of Jude, is the fact that the Book of Enoch is quoted in that Epistle. Schwegler and several others doubt the authenticity of Jude. However, the fact that it finds its place in the Muratori Fragment as one of the recognised books of Scripture, seems to render its authenticity probable. Further, the writer of Revelation—we do not presume to say at this stage

that John wrote it—has many descriptions and phrases that recall those of the Book of Enoch. The fact is that there is no reasonable doubt that these two portions are pre-Christian in date. The real point at issue is whether it is John Hyrcanus or his uncle, Judas Maccabæus, that is meant by the ram with the large horn, which the eagles, the vultures, the ravens, and the kites strove to break. Both, certainly, were assailed by outside foes, but Judas much more than his nephew. Judas in the beginning of his career was the representative of the *Ḥasidim*. John Hyrcanus was always suspected by the Pharisees,—that same party under another name,—and was finally so insulted by one of them, that he broke with the whole sect. But as we saw, the lambs whose eyes are open, whose leader this ram became, are the *Ḥasidim*. An Essene writer could write of a *Ḥasid* in the way the author of the Book of Enoch writes symbolically of this leader, but could not of a Sadducee like John Hyrcanus. Another and fatal objection to the theory that it is John Hyrcanus that is symbolised by the one-horned ram, is the fact that in this hypothesis Judas Maccabæus is not taken notice of at all; yet without Judas there could have been no John Hyrcanus. It is evident that the conflict is still going on while this is written; for while fighting, the hero is crying for help to God, who appears to deliver him. This portion cannot be later than 160 B.C.

An alleged note of time which has caused great difficulty, and led many writers to place the Book of Enoch much later than its true date, is "the seventy shepherds" of chaps. lxxxix., xc. These have been

taken by several writers, as Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, to represent successive rulers or successive periods. It is clear, however, see Gebhardt (Merx's *Archiv*, ii. 2, pp. 163–246), Schödde (*Enoch*, p. 231), that the shepherds must be angels, and neither periods nor rulers, heathen nor Jewish. Light may be thrown on this by the fact that the Jews regarded the Gentiles as being divided into seventy nations,[1] and over each of these nations was an angel supposed to be placed. That each nation was governed by a special angel is a doctrine implied in Daniel (chap. x.). When the statement is made (Enoch lxxxix. 70), that the Lord of the sheep "called thirty shepherds" after His flock had been assailed by "lions, and tigers, and wolves, and jackals," to "put away the sheep in order that they may pasture them," it means that all heathendom would supply pasturage for the Jewish people. The time when this special assault took place was at the capture of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar, and the captivity ensuing was the first pasturing of holy people by the angelic shepherds who ruled over the Gentile nations. After this captivity the Jews were scattered abroad over all the East. The deliverance of the nation from the oppression of Babylon merely opened the way, under the Persian rule, for their spreading on every side. This general dispersion of the Jewish nationality is implied in the Book of Esther. The author of Enoch regards his nation as placed by God under the charge of the

[1] Eisenmenger, *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. i. chap. xviii. In Deut. xxxii. 8, LXX., it is said, "The Highest set bounds to the nations according to the number of the angels of God."

angels of the heathen nations. This dispersion was to be a discipline; certain were to be cut off, but the Gentile nations would ever be exacting more than was meet. He regards the Persian empire as a congeries of nations as it were, and reckons their number as thirty-six (five). Then the Greek empire followed, and the Lagid princes are reckoned as having twenty-three nationalities under them. Therefore, while the Jews were under those twenty-three angels, the remaining twelve shepherds represent the period of the Seleucid domination. It will thus be seen, that while there is no very definite indication of time, what indication there is points to the time of the Seleucidæ as the date of the composition of this portion of the book.

The date of the composition of the other portions cannot be fixed.

We have reserved consideration of one feature in the Book of Enoch which has been used as an argument for diametrically opposite conclusions. The feature we mean is the Christology of the book, and especially the use of the title Son of man. On the one hand, it has been urged that such an advanced Christology implied a Christian authorship, and that the title "Son of man" given to the expected Messiah only confirms the more this view. The opinion that these features are due to Christian influences has assumed different forms. Thus J. C. K. Hoffmann and Philippi declare it to be written in the second century. Vernes claims the Christology of the book as Christian, and dates it about the end of the first century A.D. A number of other writers, as Hilgenfeld, Fellmann, and Stanton, while regarding the rest of the book as pre-Christian, have declared

the Book of Parables to be of Christian authorship. Drummond (*Jewish Messiah*) holds that while "the Book of Parables" is as a whole pre-Christian, it is largely interpolated. We shall consider Dr. Drummond's position first. He declares all those passages to be interpolations where the Messiah is indicated by the title Son of man, and endeavours to prove his position by showing how the passage reads after these passages have been left out, and then professes to find a better connection than before. Certainly to us it does not seem convincing, because in Semitic writing generally there is not the close logical sequence that is found in the works of Western peoples; there is far more repetition and redundance. Therefore it is no proof that a passage in a Semitic writing is an interpolation that it can be left out without materially injuring the sense.[1] Moreover, a theory that implies that a forger went over a document, and inserted words here and clauses there, is one to be received with a great deal of caution.

The main argument lies really in the use of the title "Son of man" as designating the Messiah. If our Lord introduced the title, it would be done with solemnity, with some indication that the title He was assuming was new. So far from that, our Lord always takes for granted that His auditors knew that He designated Himself as Messiah by this title. He seems to have chosen it as one that did not so obviously excite the suspicion of the Romans as would the title Messiah or Anointed One. The Jews, however, evidently recognised the title as one implying

[1] See above, Rise of Apocalyptic.

the assumption of Messiahship. When our Lord announced to the multitude His approaching death by crucifixion, they express their confusion by saying, "We have heard out of the law that Christ abideth ever, and how sayest thou the Son of man must be lifted up? Who is this Son of man?" Evidently the thought of the multitude is this, "The Son of man is the Messiah, and the Messiah is everlasting; but this Son of man of whom thou speakest is to die; this must be some one else. Who is this? the Son of man." Unless on the supposition that they understood "the Son of man" to mean the Messiah, the whole sentence is inexplicable. An objection has been urged, that the construction οὗτος ὁ implies the title to have been a new one: this would have force were English syntax an exact guide to Greek, but (*vid.* Liddell and Scott) the article is often added to strengthen the demonstrative force of the pronoun. The phrase really means "who is this special Son of man?" *i.e.* who is this, who is Son of man and yet not Messiah?—for Messiah he cannot be, seeing he is to be crucified. It was in all probability somewhat of an esoteric title of the hoped for Messiah in use among the Essenes, and one that was known to the outer fringe of Essenism from which our Lord drew His disciples. The fact that our Lord assumes the title "Son of man" without explanation, implies it to be already known; and if known, that is at all events probable evidence that this book is the source. On reading carefully the passages alleged to show a too advanced Christology for a pre-Christian date, we think the statement exaggerated. If the position of the Book

of Enoch be compared with that of Philo, the views are nearly identical, due regard being had to the metaphysical Platonising attitude assumed by Philo to all questions, and the want in him of any strong Messianic hope. If the reader compares also what is said of *Metatron*, of *Sandalfon*, of *Michael* among late Jewish writers, he will see that in all that is said there is no necessary ascription of supreme divinity to the Messiah.

In regard to Enoch it is interesting, as showing how slight an impress this book left on later Judaism, to note some of the opinions expressed as to the person of Enoch. Enoch was a centre of legend, but there are few traces of familiarity with our book.

The Rabbinists declare that there is one angel who is above all the other angels, He is called *Metatron*, מִיטָטְרוֹן, *μετὰ θρόνον*,[1] and most extraordinary things are said. "He is the ruler over all rulers, and king over all kings. He is the beginning of the ways of God. He is the prince, the angel of the countenance," who is continually before God; "the angel, the prince of strength and wisdom; the angel, the prince of all the lofty, much exalted and august prince, who is over the heaven and the earth. He is the old and the young, the Lord of the world." These are titles that suggest Christ to the Christian reader at once, yet they are the product of Judaism which had become bitterly hostile to Christianity. Singular as is the light thrown on the Christology of Enoch, a yet more singular thing is the identification of Enoch with this

[1] Dr. Kohut suggests a connection with *μεσίτης*, but holds a still closer relationship to *Mitheas* the Persian demi-god.

Metatron. In the Targum of the Pseudo-Jonathan we are told that after God took Enoch He changed his name to *Metatron.* A number of wonderful things are said of him, how his bones became coal, and his veins were filled with fire. Perhaps the most grotesque part of the description is the assertion that he is so much taller than his fellows, that it would take a man five hundred years to walk the distance representing the difference. Nay, his absolute size is given as seven hundred million miles in height and breadth. Some of the sayings put in his mouth seem to be free quotations of the book before us, but such as may have been filtered to the Rabbins from Christian sources.[1]

[1] For more particulars, see Eisenmenger's *Entdecktes Judenthum*, vol. ii. chap. vii.

CHAPTER III.

THE ELEVENTH CHAPTER OF DANIEL: ITS DATE.

ONE cannot fail to notice the sudden change of style when one passes from the fifth verse of this chapter to the sixth. Before this point everything is indicated in the vague symbolic way peculiar to Apocalyptic prophecy; after, it becomes almost as definite as history. In no other portion of prophetic literature is there any fine stating of history in a similar way. Again, the writer of 1 Maccabees knew Daniel, and put references to it into the mouth of Mattathias. If this chapter of Daniel had then been commonly incorporated with Daniel, when the first book of Maccabees was written, it would have been impossible not to have represented Mattathias referring to the certainty that ultimately their enemy would be overthrown, although the struggle would be a long and arduous one. The fact that our Lord, Matt. xxiv. 15, refers to Dan. xi. 31, and quotes it as from "Daniel the prophet," is at first sight a difficulty; but we must bear in mind that our Lord did not regard it as His mission to teach Biblical criticism. Nothing depended on the words being those of Daniel and not of some other. Moreover, even grant that this chapter is by Daniel, it was not of the coming of the Romans that this prophecy was written, but of Epiphanes. Foreign standards

with their idolatrous symbols were "the abomination that maketh desolate," whether the standards so adorned were those of Epiphanes or of Titus. Our Lord used the description here of the camp of an invading force, but did not thereby lend His authority to the forgery of this Essene of the second century B.C. It seems clear that this chapter was not recognised as part of Daniel by the author of 1st Maccabees, yet it is recognised as such by our Lord. The probability is it was one of the esoteric writings that only gradually got to the public.

Mr. Margoliouth's theory, that the literary language of Palestine at this time was new Hebrew, seems to militate against the view suggested above; but the *falsarius* would naturally imitate, so far as he could, the language of his author.

CHAPTER IV.

THE LANGUAGE AND DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE OF BARUCH.

THE question of the language of the Book of Baruch is not very easily decided. The great portion of it exists at present in Syriac. The common opinion is that this is a translation from Greek. Certainly the form the names assume confirms this view, *e.g. Sedekias Godolias.* The occurrence of the word ܫܘܦܪ, *splendour*, in places where κόσμος would suit, but which do not suit the notion of splendour as in iii. 7, implies that the translator took the wrong meaning of κόσμος. On the other hand, there seems evidence that the Greek recension was itself a version of a Hebrew original, *e.g.* Iabisc ܝܒܨ; this almost certainly represents Ἰγαβής of the Septuagint, 1 Chron. iv. 9, 10 (Heb. יַעְבֵּץ, Syriac ܝܥܒܨ).[1] The probability then is that we have a Syriac translation of a Greek translation of a Hebrew original. Given that this conclusion is a correct one, the question of place may be regarded as settled, for there seems little probability that such a book would be written in Hebrew in any place out of Palestine. As we have

[1] Harvey, the editor of Irenæus, argues that the Greek, of which the passage in Irenæus is a Latin version, must have had a Syriac original. This argument, however, would suit with a Hebrew original.

said elsewhere, our opinion is that it was probably written in Engedi, the main seat of the Essenes.

The Syriac version by which alone we know this Apocalypse was discovered by Ceriani in the Ambrosian Library, Milan, a treasure-house that has rivalled Abyssinia in restoring to us books that had disappeared from the knowledge of Christendom. In 1866, Ceriani published a Latin version of the Syriac original; five years later this was followed by the Syriac text. There have been several editions since that date.

It seems hardly needful to prove that the writer is a Jew. Everything is Jewish, and Jewish only. Further, there is no reference to the Christians. At first sight xli. 3 might seem to apply to them, but other things make this reference less probable. The date of this book is of necessity a question of more importance than the language in which it was written or the place where the writer was dwelling when he wrote. Externally we find one of our termini in the fact that Papias quotes a sentence from it, but attributes it to our Lord. That is to say, it certainly was written some time before A.D. 130, the approximate date of Papias. If any stress is to be laid on the fact that he ascribed it to our Lord, then the date of Baruch must be placed much earlier. It is a possible thing that our Lord might have quoted it much as He has made other quotations, as Matt. v. 43, and as Jude has quoted from Enoch, without assigning any sanctity or inspiration to the work. Indeed, from the careful way Papias went to work, however little respect may be had for his judgment, it may be regarded as probable that our Lord did use the words attributed to Him

by Papias, that is to say, did quote from Baruch. We certainly have not the work of Papias, but this statement of his is quoted by Irenæus, *adv. Hæreseos*, v. 33; further, Irenæus at this point has not come down to us in the original Greek, but only in a Latin version. Still it may be regarded as fairly certain that Papias did attribute to our Lord Baruch xxix. Even though we do not regard Papias' assertion as proving that our Lord had quoted these words descriptive of the millennial glory, yet the fact that the source of the words was not known seems to imply that the book by this time had practically disappeared. But to have even a sentence made common property, proves it to have at least had a certain vogue. If it had gained that, and then had so utterly disappeared that no one, until the book turned up a quarter of a century ago, knew that the sentence in question had been quoted from it, this proves that some considerable time must have elapsed.

On the other hand, it must have been written after Enoch, for lvi. 12, 13 evidently refers to the sin of the angels in regard to the daughters of men, with which the Book of Enoch opens. This leaves a pretty wide margin, A.D. 130 and B.C. 160. It has been thought by Langen, Renan, Stähelin, Hilgenfeld, Drummond, and others, that this book was borrowed largely from Fourth Ezra. Schürer's *Jewish People*, sec. ii. vol. iii. 89, shows, however, pretty conclusively that what dependence there is may easily be the converse of the supposition above referred to. Moreover, dependence in regard to doctrine is a very uncertain matter, especially when, in the case both of Baruch and Esdras, the doctrine is a thing

indirectly introduced. As has been well shown by Schürer (*loc. cit.*), the sadness in Esdras is far deeper than in Baruch. Baruch has a certainty that the temple will be restored after a time, but Esdras has no such hope.

One peculiarity of Apocalyptic books is, that as a rule they bear signs of the time of their composition more unmistakably than any other class of work. That being so, it behoves us to direct our attention to the contents of this Book of Baruch. Let us apply the canons we have laid down in regard to the Book of Enoch. If we take our first canon, "the time of the composition of an Apocalypse is after the latest event clearly described, and before the first distinct break with actual history," and apply it to the book before us, we find several notes of time of this schematic form. There are the twelve showers,—these twelve terminate with Cyrus. After this comes a period of terrible blackness, unlike anything that had been. This, as we have already said, represents the period of the Maccabean struggle. Then there is a period when the black is neither united with the black nor the white with the white. This suits the representation of the lightning that healed the corruption caused by the latter dark rain. Then come twelve rivers which quench the healing lightning. The interpretation goes further, it not only has the "last black waters, *aquæ nigræ postremæ*," which may be supposed to be equivalent to the rivers that quenched the healing lightning, but away beyond them are bright waters which represent the Messianic times. After the Maccabean period there are two periods, one when the

flashing lightning is healing what the black rain is corrupting, and the other when the corrupting waters have prevailed. The first evidently refers to the reigns of John Hyrcanus, Aristobulus I., Alexander Jannæus, and Alexandra, when there were efforts made by the scribes and Pharisees to spread the knowledge of the law and increase the reverence for it. But, on the other hand, there was a constant spreading of Hellenistic habits and customs. These habits and customs were intimately associated with the moral corruption of heathenism. Then came the terrible time of Aristobulus II. and John Hyrcanus II., the time of the last corruption (chap. lxx.), when brother went to war with brother, and where the mean man—the Edomite Antipater—exalted himself over the rich Aristobulus. All this was ended with Pompey's capture of Jerusalem when the rising sea quenched the light of Judah. In the near future after this the writer expected the advent of the Messiah.

Another scheme of history is presented to us in chap. xxxix. taken in connection with chap. xxxvi. As we saw above in chap. xxxvi., the writer gives an account of a vision he had of the last times in which the Messiah and His kingdom are symbolised as a vine with a quiet fountain flowing from beneath it. Round this vine-covered fountain is a vast wood of many trees, and especially one towering cedar. A flood comes and carries away this wood gradually, the towering cedar being the last to be swept off. In chap. xxxix. the explanation of this vision is given. We learn that there are to be four world empires, —a thought borrowed from Daniel,—and the forest is the fourth empire. It needs no seer to tell us

that Rome is this fourth empire. One thing that must be noted is, that to outsiders at the time when the book before us was written, the Roman executive presented the appearance of multitudinousness — leaders numerous as trees in a wood. Such an impression might be conveyed by the contemplation of Republican Rome, but not at all by Rome as Imperial. Imperial Rome was represented by Cæsar, and practically Cæsar alone, and therefore to appearance differed in kind but little from such monarchies as that of the Seleucids; but Republican Rome produced a very different impression, as may be seen on looking at the description of the Roman Senate found in the First Book of the Maccabees. We find the change of leading magistrates, a thing that was well fitted to impress the Jews with a feeling of multitudinousness in regard to the rulers of the Romans.[1] The last cedar that survives all the others is "the last leader (*ultimus dux*) of the Romans." It is noticeable that the term king is not used, but leader. The Imperial dignity became confounded with the regal in the East in the days of Tiberius and downwards.[2] Yet it is a leader—a tree

[1] In 1 Macc. viii. we have an account of how the Roman mode of government impressed the Jews. After describing the deeds of the Roman, the account proceeds, "yet for all this none of them wore a crown or was clothed in purple to be magnified thereby. Moreover, they had made for themselves a Senate-house in which 320 men sit in Council daily consulting alway for the people, to the end they might be well ordered; and they committed their government to one man every year who ruled over all their country, and that all were obedient to that one, and that there was neither envy nor emulation among them." Here the great number of the rulers and the repeated changes are evidently the matter most remarkable in the eyes of the narrator.

[2] Especially is this the case in the Apocryphal books. Nero is called a matricide king, Ascension of Isaiah. The Syriac is ܡܟܬܐ.

greater certainly than its neighbour, but simply a tree like them. This would certainly be an accurate description of Pompey. If the terrible disaster which befell the army of Crassus had recently happened, one might understand the expectation of the flood even better than otherwise. The exulting contempt with which this last leader is addressed implies some special cause of hatred against him; — a state of feeling thoroughly explicable in regard to Pompey.

A different view of the date is generally held. This opinion is based on chap. xxxii. : "After a little time the building of Zion shall be shaken down, that it may be built again; but that building will not remain, but again after a time it will be rooted out and remain desolate for a season." Certainly at first sight this indicates a complete overturn, such as fell upon Zion when Titus took Jerusalem. But in this view we are forgetting the absolute desecration that had fallen upon the temple when the eyes of a heathen general had with curious gaze pierced into the Holy of Holies. Its sanctity had to appearance been rooted out, and it was desolate. We admit that did this passage stand alone, we should feel ourselves compelled to admit a late date; but the other passages seem to us to more than counterbalance the weight of this isolated passage, which may be an interpolation.

Our second canon was : "The date of an Apocalypse is that which affords a background which harmonises best with that implied in the book." What is the state of matters taken for granted in Baruch? Jerusalem certainly has been taken and the temple desolated, but still the mourning worshippers can seat themselves on

the steps of the Temple. The city has suffered severely, and the people are reduced to poverty; many of them have been carried away captive, but still they have an organised community, with elders of the people to rule over them as in the time of their prosperity. This was a state of things precisely like that after the capture of the city by Pompey, but utterly unlike the thorough destruction and overturn that was wrought by Titus. Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* v. 70, speaks of Jerusalem as having completely ceased to be. In the war of Barcochba the Jews never possessed Jerusalem at all. The whole city seems to have lain desolate for half a century. There was no possibility of elders of the people assembling together, still less of the whole people being gathered together.

On all these grounds we feel that the date of this book cannot be much after the capture of Jerusalem by Pompey in the year 63 B.C. It must, however, have been before the death of Pompey or the rise of Herod, the date, therefore, may be approximately fixed as 59 B.C.

There is another much later treatise, called sometimes "the rest of Baruch" and sometimes "the rest of the words of Jeremiah." While in some respects it is related to the Apocalypse of Baruch we have been considering above, in other respects it contradicts it. In the Apocalypse of Baruch only one eagle is employed and sent to the nine tribes and a half; whereas to Babylon the message is sent by the hand of three messengers. In this book the eagle carries the message to Babylon and returns again with an answer. There is a fuller account of the destruction of the city by the

angels, and more is made of the eagles who act as the carriers of the Epistles than in the Apocalypse. A good part of the book is taken up with the story of Abimelech. In order to spare him a sight of the destruction of Jerusalem, Jeremiah sends him for figs to the vineyard of Agrippa, and on his way back he falls asleep, and only awakes after the return from the captivity. The mention of the vineyard of Agrippa proves it at any rate to be late—probably it may be late in the second century. At all events a Christian community is now in Jerusalem. There is an account given of the founding of Samaria, which is interesting as revealing the deficient attention bestowed upon the sacred records by Jews and Jewish Christians. The writer declares that Samaria was founded by those who returned from Babylon with Jeremiah (!); but having Babylonian wives and not wishing to divorce them, they would have returned to Babylon, but were not suffered to do so, and hence they built Samaria.

CHAPTER V.

THE LANGUAGE AND DATE OF THE PSALTER OF SOLOMON.

WHEREAS Enoch and the Apocalypse of Baruch only became known to modern scholars during this century, for the years during which the Ethiopic manuscripts of the former book were lying untranslated in the various libraries cannot be regarded of any account, the Psalter of Solomon was edited so far back as the beginning of the seventeenth century. In 1626, De la Cerda, a Jesuit, printed, with a Latin translation, these eighteen psalms from a manuscript which had been brought from Constantinople to the library at Augsburg in 1615. Several times have they been published since, and several additional manuscripts collated. Although not quoted by any of the ancient Fathers,—a fact adverted to by Fabricius,—yet in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus the length of the Psalter is given.

In the Catalogue of the contents of the Codex Alexandrinus the Psalter of Solomon occurred after Clement. In other manuscripts of the Bible it occurs among the Solomonic and pseudo-Solomonic books. It is a singular irony of fate that while the Book of Baruch should be received into something like canonicity, the Psalter of Solomon has never been placed even in the position of quasi-canonicity assigned to First and Second Esdras.

In fact, too little attention has been directed to these psalms; only seven years ago was the first English translation of them given in the *Presbyterian Review.*[1]

The manuscripts—some five—are all Greek. The first question that must be decided is then, Is this the original tongue, or have these psalms been translated from Hebrew or Aramaic? For the Greek being the original language, the only name of note is Huet. In fact it seems difficult to imagine any one reading over the Greek of these psalms and coming to any other conclusion than that they are translations from Hebrew or Aramaic. The traces of a Hebrew original are numerous—*e.g.* the frequency of the noting of time by ἐν with the infinitive (=בְּ) for ὅτε. There is further the comparatively rare occurrence of the substantive verb. In the whole eighteen psalms it only occurs about a dozen times. This characteristic is observable in the Septuagint version of the Psalms, but not in the New Testament. When one remembers how comparatively seldom the verb *to be* requires to be used in Hebrew, the feature we have named will seem easily explicable on the assumption that the Greek Psalter is a translation from the Hebrew or Aramaic. The title of the Psalm τῷ Σολομών answering to לִשְׁלֹמֹה, supports the same view. The comparative rarity of the article might seem to point to an Aramaic original, but some other constructions seem more to suggest Hebrew. Moreover, the writer in imitating the structure and subject of the psalms of the canon would naturally imitate their language.

[1] We have not had the benefit of that translation. We refer to it on the authority of Schürer.

The language being determined to be Hebrew, it follows that the original author was a Palestinian Jew. Hebrew was but little known outside of Palestine, and even those who knew it had little motive to compose in it. We have assumed that these psalms are all by one hand; the perpetual recurrence of similar phrases proves this clearly. As we have seen from attentive perusal, the writer was in all likelihood one accustomed to the sight of the country and of the desert. This makes it probable that he was one of the Essenes. But then his knowledge of what was taking place in the city, especially in the Sanhedrin, renders it almost certain that he was a resident in Jerusalem. But we know that the Essenes had a house in Jerusalem where brethren of the order stayed. Drummond's hypothesis (*Jewish Messiah*, p. 134), that it is a Palestinian Jew resident in Egypt, has little to support it. He rests his conclusion on xvii. 6: "On account of our sins, sinners rose up against us, and assailed and put us out," this is certainly a description of the action of the Sadducean party against the Pharisaic; but the "thrusting out" was simply out of the city, not out of the country. The Essenes seem after the days of Aristobulus II. to have been much less frequent in the cities.

There remains still further the question of the date when the Psalter was written. No one holds the opinion advocated by De la Cerda, that Solomon actually was the author.[1] Fabricius, in recoil from the above-

[1] For the alleged Solomonic authorship there is simply nothing to be said. The writer never suggests that he is a king; he speaks of kings as belonging to a class quite apart from himself. The titles to the psalms may have been added at any time. Fabricius suggests that the dative (equivalent to the Hebrew ל) simply means after the manner of Solomon.

mentioned view, held the Psalter to be of Christian origin. This view was afterwards espoused by Grätz, though later again abandoned by him. The sole argument in defence of such a position is the use of *χριστὸς κύριος*, xvii. 36; *χρ. κ.ου*, xviii. 8. In the first place, in xvii. 36, *κ.ου* is suggested as a reading; if so, the whole peculiarly Christian complex of the passage vanishes (Drummond, *Jewish Messiah*, p. 283). But further, *κύριος* may represent אֲדֹנָי as well as יְהוָה, and hence more nearly akin to the ordinary classical usage of the word. Even though the word represented be יְהוָה, which certainly suits the analogy of the Septuagint, yet Zech. iii. 3 shows that the name Jehovah may be given to one who yet says to Satan, "Jehovah rebuke thee." We saw how nearly Divine the Messiah becomes in the Book of Enoch. As has been well pointed out, the whole complexion of the passages where these phrases occur, while Messianic, and tending to exalt the Messiah's office, is yet essentially Jewish. The Messiah is to have the peoples of the Gentiles in slavery, *ἕξει λαοὺς ἐθνῶν δουλεύειν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ζυγὸν αὐτοῦ*. The maintenance of the Jewish sanctuary and the purification of it is one of the works assigned to Him. Further, the whole tone of the psalms is that of one whose ideas of righteousness were modelled on the Mosaic law, although there are other elements no doubt introduced—precursors of Christianity. When we have proved that in the Psalter of Solomon there are no elements distinctly borrowed from Christianity, we have further proved that it was pre-Christian in date. There have been many assertions that certain Jewish works, post-

Christian in date, have been adopted by the Church but rejected by the Jews; but with all this *à priori* assertion there has not been a single atom of anything approaching scientific proof. There is no trace of the use of this Psalter among the Jews, and there is evidence in the *Stichometry* of Nicephorus that it was used among Christians. If the Psalter was written by the Jewish sect that was most akin to Christianity, and a sect which disappeared practically in Christianity, both phenomena are easily explicable. Had the Psalter been written by Jews after the time of Christ, in the first place, instead of the few phrases that bear a distinctly Christian look, there would have been a number which would bear an aspect distinctly anti-Christian. And in the next place, containing such phrases and sentiments, it would not have been received in the Christian Church.

Assuming that it is post-Solomonic and pre-Christian, it remains now to see whether we can fix the date within any narrower limits. Ewald held that it was written about 170 B.C., after the capture of Jerusalem by Epiphanes (*Hist. of Israel*, v. 301, Eng. tr.). In the earlier work, *The Prophets of the Old Covenant*, iii. 269, he suggested even an earlier origin to this Psalter. He thought the siege referred to might be that when Ptolemæus Lagi took Jerusalem. The main argument for this view is that the assailant is spoken of as a king, xvii. 22. The king referred to in this passage is not the assailant, but the king actually reigning in Jerusalem; he it is who is in transgression, for only in this way can the parallel be maintained between "the king in transgression, the judge who is not in truth

(who does not judge truly), and the people who are in sin." The wealth that had raised some up to heaven seems to indicate, not the period of distress like that of Epiphanes, or that of Ptolemy Soter, but a peaceful time when wealth could accumulate. The fact that a king is mentioned, moreover, restricts the period of the composition of the Psalter to that between the accession of Aristobulus I. and the death of Herod the Great. Before the time of Aristobulus I. no Jew had assumed the royal title: royalty was regarded as the appanage of the house of David. That house had, however, disappeared from the political arena. With Herod died the last claimant to the title "King of Judea." We have now to discover the siege of Jerusalem occurring between these dates which best suits the circumstances implied. Movers (*Wetzer und Welte Kirchenlexikon*, i. 340), Delitzsch (*Psalms*, ii. 381), and Keim (*Jesus von Nazara*, i. 243) maintain that the period of this composition is that of Herod the Great, and therefore the siege is that in which he was helped by Sosius to capture it. But in the siege referred to in the Psalter the doors are opened peaceably — the oppressor enters into the land and into the city as a father into the house of his sons, viii. 20. Then after this commences the siege. The use of the battering-ram was specially advantageous to the Romans. This does not at all agree with the events of the Herodian siege of Jerusalem. There was no opening of the gates peacably to him. Further, the result of the Herodian siege was to put a king, however unworthy, on the throne, not to lead one captive. Many certainly were slaughtered by the Romans at

the Herodian siege, but there was no large carrying away of captives.

The other opinion is that this book was written shortly after the siege and capture of Jerusalem under Pompey. This is the view advocated by Langen (*Paläst. z. Zeit Christi*, 66), Hilgenfeld (*Messias Jud.*), Drummond (*Jewish Mess.* 136 f.), Stanton (*Jewish and Christian Messiah*, 77), Schürer (*Hist. of Jewish People*, Div. ii. vol. iii. 17 f.), and the majority of critics. The more carefully one examines the Psalter, the more convinced one must be of the truth of this conclusion. The fact that there was a titular king, who, being of the seed of Aaron, and having no right to the throne, which was the inheritance of David, hence was "in transgression," is an important point in identifying the time of the composition of the Psalter. We need not say that this was the case in Pompey's siege. The transgression of the king referred to may be the assumption of the throne by Aristobulus, although John Hyrcanus was the elder son; a sin that would be less likely to be condoned to one like Aristobulus, a Sadducee. It was a period of great outward wealth, when the Sanhedrin were extremely powerful, and yet when there was great immorality. This also suits the facts of history. One was called from the far west who smote strongly—Pompey, to wit. He was welcomed by the rulers. John Hyrcanus II., Aristobulus II., and the representatives of the people who were against either having the rule over them appeared before Pompey in Damascus. When he offered to march to Jerusalem to examine things there, his proposal was

welcomed. Certainly, Aristobulus suddenly left and organised a defence against a siege, but becoming afraid, surrendered himself. The gates of the city were opened by the adherents of John Hyrcanus, and Pompey entered peaceably. The followers of Aristobulus had shut themselves up in the temple, and then the battering-ram was brought into play, and the blood of the people of God flowed like water, and the temple was taken with great slaughter. As a consequence of this capture of the temple, a large number of the sons and daughters of Zion went into "an evil captivity." All this fits the Pompeian siege. But more, the treading the sacred courts in arrogancy was a natural description of the action of Pompey intruding into the Holy of Holies.

The crowning proof that the siege referred to is that of Pompey, is the description of the death of the oppressor. The psalmist tell us that God showed him the insolence of this dragon pierced "upon the coasts of Egypt,[1] set at nought both on land and sea, his body dashed about by the waves with much dishonour, and there was none to bury." If we compare this with the actual account of the death of Pompey, it is impossible to deny that the writer of the Psalter intended to describe the event. We can read in Plutarch the miserable story of the treachery of Septimius, Achillas, and Pothius—how Pompey was murdered while landing from the galley in which he had escaped from the defeat of Pharsalia. His head was cut off and afterwards presented to his great rival, who turned away

[1] Reading ὁρίων instead of ὄρεων.

from the sight in sorrow. The body was left upon the shore; but his freedman Philippus improvised funeral obsequies for the great conqueror, now fallen so low.

The whole background is in complete harmony with this theory—the opposition to the Hellenisers—the reverence for the law of God, for His sanctuary. Although it may be remarked that there is no reference to sacrifices,—an omission eminently characteristic of the Essene tendency we have seen in our author,—we have reference, however, to the altar. As we have already mentioned, it is a time of considerable wealth, when the Sanhedrin have great power,—they have power of life and death.

While thus it seems pretty clear that the date of these psalms must be near that of the Pompeian siege, we think it would be a mistake to put them all so far down as to be after the death of Pompey. The sense of the shame and distress endured by that siege are expressed too keenly to be the remembrance of fifteen years past. It seems more probable that these psalms were written at different times, and that additions were made to them as events suggested. Thus the second psalm seems to have been written with the dishonour of the desecration of the temple and of the captivity of the people still fresh in the mind of the writer; yet the description of the death of Pompey must have been written possibly in the year 47 or 46 B.C. These psalms, then, may be regarded as having been written at various times between B.C. 64, the year before the Pompeian siege, and the year 46 B.C.

While there is a close resemblance between the Greek of the Psalter of Solomon and that of the Canonical Psalms in the Septuagint,—a resemblance indeed so close that imitation is suggested,—yet there are points of difference; there is the presence of εἰς for εἰ, and there is the want of those peculiar Macedonisms which are the note of the Septuagint Greek. The Greek was not impossibly written in Palestine, like the Hebrew from which it was translated. Greek, as we have seen, was commonly spoken in Palestine, and the Septuagint was in common use even in synagogues. That being so, the imitation of the Greek of the Septuagint Psalms was but natural. The Greek version of the Psalter of Solomon was probably made not long after the latest addition to the text, say about 45 B.C.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LANGUAGE AND DATE OF THE BOOK OF JUBILEES.

IN Jerome and Epiphanius there are references to a Jewish account of the events narrated in the Pentateuch. It is called sometimes μικρογένεσις, sometimes λεπτηγενέσις, sometimes τὰ Ἰωβηλαῖα. Extracts from it occur in George Syncellus, Zenaras, Glycas, and Cedrenus, which are collected by Fabricius in his *Codex Pseudepigraphicus*, and by Rönsch in his articles in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift*, 1874. After the twelfth century the book disappears from knowledge altogether. In 1844 a German missionary from Abyssinia presented the University of Tübingen with an Ethiopic version of the long lost work. Six years after a German translation of this was made by Dillmann; and in 1859, when a second MS. had been found, an edition of the Ethiopic text with a Latin version was issued by the same scholar. Two years after this, in 1861, Ceriani, the librarian of the Ambrosian Library, Milan, issued in the first part of his *Monumenta sacra et profana* fragments of an old Latin version of the same work. This has been republished by Rönsch, with a Latin version of the corresponding part of the Ethiopic. This affords an important additional evidence for the original language of the book.

There seems no reasonable doubt that both the Ethiopic and the Latin version have been made from the Greek version of which so many extracts have come down to us. Names in which ש occurs in the Hebrew Bible are represented both in the Ethiopic and Latin by the simple *s*. Thus in the account of the building of the tower of Babel, it is mentioned that the building took place in the plain of Senaar, precisely in accordance with the Septuagint. שִׁנְעָר, Shinar, the Hebrew name, could easily have been transliterated into Ethiopic. There are, further, several other accommodations to the peculiarities of the Greek tongue which all go to prove the same thing. Another matter is its agreement with the Septuagint even in points when it is at variance with the Hebrew. There is, besides, knowledge of the authorities quoted by Josephus, *e.g.* Manetho, which certainly were extant in Greek. It may be assumed then as certain that the book as it has come down to us is from a Greek source, be it the original or a translation.

Is the Greek the original? or is it also a translation from a Hebrew or Aramaic original? It seems clear that it was a translation from a Semitic original. In both the passages in which Jerome refers to it, the occasion of his doing so is the use in it of some Hebrew word that, occurring only once in Scripture, was therefore uncertain in meaning, *ἅπαξ λεγόμενος*. Only this difficulty remains, that one cannot recognise the passages in the Book of Jubilees to which he refers as containing the words in question. In the book as we have it there is evidence apparently incontestible that there was a Hebrew original behind

the Greek. Then in chap. xi. 3, "and Ur the son of Kêsêd built Esa of the Chaldees, and called its name after his own name and the name of his father,"—the reference evidently here is to the Hebrew name of the Chaldees, כַּשְׂדִּים (*cas'dim*). Other instances might be brought forward which would prove the same thing.

But between the two Semitic tongues, Hebrew and Aramaic, the question is more difficult of decision. The fact that the Book of Jubilees is of the nature of a Targum, and that the Targums were written in Chaldee, would render it to a certain degree probable that it also was written in Aramaic. Against this may be urged the fact, that the great majority of the Apocalyptic writings have been presumably written in Hebrew. It somewhat weakens, however, the probative force of this, that the evidence on which in each case the decision, that it was written in Hebrew, rests, is purely a balance of probabilities. The strongest affirmative evidence is that of Jerome; but there is nothing in the passage to show that the distinction between Hebrew and Aramaic was before his mind. Hebrew and Aramaic are continually confounded by the Fathers. One of the words, דִּסָּח at any rate, is common to Hebrew and Aramaic, for it occurs in Onkelos as well as in the Hebrew Bible. In the New Testament when such an adjective as *Ἑβραϊκός* is used, we know that it means Aramaic, as John xix. 13, *Ἑβραϊστὶ δὲ Γαββαθᾶ*. As Jerome certainly was a greater scholar than any other of the Fathers, we cannot presume that the popular confusion would be perpetuated in his language; thus the balance of Jerome's evidence is slightly in favour of Hebrew being the language.

Against this may be put two facts. The name given to Satan is *Mastema*. This, however, is simply the participial noun from the Aphel of שטם, to accuse, with ה the sign of the *status emphaticus;* while שטמא is the Aramaic equivalent of the Hebrew שטן, meaning the same thing, from which שטן, Satan, is derived. Further, in chap. xii. 28, the angel of the presence informs Moses that he spoke to Abraham in Hebrew, "in the tongue of creation;" he further says that "Abraham took the books of his father, and they were written in Hebrew." Had Hebrew been the language in which the rest of the book was written, there would have been no occasion to make such a statement. On the whole, the balance of probability is that this book was written, not in Hebrew, but in Aramaic.

Elsewhere we have in passing shown our belief that the Book of Jubilees was written, as were the other Apocalyptic books, by an Essene.[1] The great reverence for the Sabbath is one characteristic which our author manifests in common with the Essenes. Further, Josephus mentions that the priests of the Essenes were their cooks. Our author speaking of the father-in-law of Joseph says: "He was sacrificer at Heliopolis, chief of the cooks." Certainly, as the Essenes probably had members who had greater affinity, now with the Sadducees, now with the Pharisees, the Essene who wrote the Book of Jubilees was more akin to the Pharisees. There seems little to recommend the opinion, supported by Beer, that it is the work of a Samaritan. Although, on account of his romantic

[1] This is the opinion advanced by Jellinek.

history, Joseph is prominent, he is not so prominent as Judah and Levi.

The question of the date is an important one, though somewhat difficult to determine definitely, as we can only apply one of our canons. As the author gives no sketch of history to the end of the world, we cannot identify his period by that means; but there are several indications of a background that may enable us to make a decision. One element in the background seems clearly to show that there was a special reason for hating Edom. There was certainly an apologetic reason for it, but the attack is carried on with a bitterness that implies a point in the present state of matters. This might indicate Herod to be on the throne, carrying on his cruelties at the expense of the best of the Jewish people. It would, however, equally apply to Archelaus who was not less cruel, but only less able and less magnificent than his father. In the Talmud, Edom is the received symbolic name for the Roman power, as Babylon is the received name for Rome as a city. It might therefore be suggested that the hatred exhibited to Esau was covert hatred of Rome, and therefore might mean that Jerusalem was destroyed; but it is not absolutely certain that this was so early in vogue. The fact that he distinguishes between the sons of Esau and the Edomites (xxxvii. 12), implies, that if he had the symbolic meaning of Edom in his mind, he intended to distinguish from them those whose evil deeds he was describing. The Edomites are represented in the passage to which we referred above as called to the help of the sons of Esau; this would suit admirably the position of the Herodian rulers

over the Jews by the grace of the emperor and of the Senate and people of Rome. Further, the fact that the author enjoins that the Passover be slain before the doors of the temple or tabernacle, proves the temple still to have been standing. Such a command never would be given if the temple was in ruins. Another indirect proof that the country was not under Roman power is, that the author blames his countrymen for making use of a calendar with a lunar year of three hundred and fifty-four days. This was the year used during the Greek supremacy, and only displaced by the Romans after Judea became a province of the empire. Throughout, Josephus makes use of the Greek calendar. Roman governors, however, would and did make use of the Roman calendar in regard to courts and such state business as came under their immediate superintendence. The year he advocated was almost identical with the Roman, and this he scarcely would have done had the Romans been in possession of the land of Palestine. The probability therefore is that this book was written before the deposition of Archelaus.

A passage that may possibly contain a note of time is to be found in chap. xxxix. taken in common with John iv. 4; the narrative then fits into the statement in the Gospel. We know that Jacob gave to Joseph a portion of ground which he had taken with his sword and with his bow. We know also that he purchased from the Shechemites a parcel of ground in the neighbourhood of Shechem. Only in the Gospel of John and the Book of Jubilees are we informed that the conquest, as well as the purchase, were in the neighbourhood of Shechem. From this we may deduce that the

Book of Jubilees was composed before the fourth Gospel. As, despite the assertion of certain critics, we venture to hold the fourth Gospel to have been composed in the last decade of the first century, that may be regarded as a *terminus ad quem*, though an earlier date, as we have seen, is more probable.

If we may hold that it was written before the end of the first century A.D., we may also show that it was written after the beginning of the first century B.C. The large space occupied by Enoch in the narrative, the reference to the tablets of Heaven, and the fact that special astronomical knowledge is attributed to him,—a characteristic fitting the representations in the Book of Enoch,—render it probable that the writer of the present book has borrowed from the Book of Enoch; a view that becomes a certainty when we read the account of the fall of the angels, and find it identical with that given in the Book of Enoch.

What may be looked upon as a note of time is found in chap. xxvi. 36, in the blessing which Isaac gives to Esau after Jacob had stolen his main blessing: "It will happen when thou art great, and shalt break his yoke from off thy neck, that thou shalt commit a sin unto death, and all thy seed shall be rooted out." The sin unto death may almost certainly be regarded as the assumption of the Hasmonæan throne by the Edomite race in the person of Herod the Great. The slaughter that Herod wrought among his own family might well induce the hope that they would soon all be killed off.

The probable date of the Book of Jubilees is from B.C. 5 to A.D. 6.

CHAPTER VII.

THE LANGUAGE AND DATE OF THE ASSUMPTION OF MOSES.

IN the Epistle of Jude there is a reference to a mysterious conflict between the archangel Michael and Satan concerning the body of Moses. Origen tells us that this is derived from a book which he calls *ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως*. Earlier than Origen, Clement of Alexandria gives an account of Joshua and Caleb seeing, what seems to have been really, the translation of Moses — "one Moses," the spirit "taken by angels, one on the mountains honoured by burial." This was seen by Joshua and Caleb, but not equally, as the former was the more spiritual. This seems certainly borrowed from the same writing. There are also other references to this book. Didymus Alexandrinus in his commentary on Jude refers to it. Œcumenius some six centuries later also mentions the Assumption of Moses in his commentary on the same Epistle. He adds that in the contention about the body of Moses the point of the devil's plea was the murder of the Egyptian. Evodius, a contemporary of Augustine, mentions this book, and refers to the fact quoted by Clemens Alexandrinus, in the *Stromateis* of whom there is a story of considerable length, drawn

from the Assumption. After that time the book may be said to have disappeared, till about thirty years ago Ceriani published in his *Monumenta sacra et profana* a fragment of a Latin version of this *Assumptio Mosis*. The quotation in the Acts of the Second Nicene Council enabled men to identify it with the work referred to by the Fathers. As it is unfortunately only a fragment, we cannot point to the passages from which Jude drew his illustration, nor verify the quotation in Clemens Alexandrinus. Yet the point at which the book stops indicates that in what followed the references made by Clemens Alexandrinus and by Jude would have been found.

As we have said, the fragment is in Latin. It is full of blunders in transcription, indicating that the last copyist had by no means an accurate knowledge of the tongue he wrote. Many of the blunders go deeper, and show that the translator was by no means perfect in the grammatical structure of the Latin language; and perhaps his knowledge of Greek is defective. Such a common word as θλῖψις he does not know, but endeavours to transliterate it, and fails in the attempt, for he renders it *clibsis*. He is equally at sea as to an equivalent for ἀλλόφυλοι, "foreigners," the term commonly employed in the Septuagint for the Philistines, and again transliterates *allofile*. So he deals with σκήνη. Finding in his Greek original some such verb as κεδρόω, and unable to find an equivalent, he forms a new Latin verb, *chedriare*, to preserve with cedar oil. Another failure in adequate transliteration occurs near the beginning, where we have the mysterious word *fynicis*, which may either stand for φοίνικος (Hilgen-

feld) or φοινίκης (Volkmar), the latter being, on the whole, the more probable.

Another translation requires to be noticed. We have the phrase *arbiter testamenti* evidently standing as a representative of ὁ μεσίτης τῆς διαθήκης. In regard to this phrase, we happen to have the sentence quoted by the Second Council of Nicæa from this work where the terms occur, and we can thus prove the Latin equivalents for the Greek words. In this the translator does not follow Jerome, who renders the equivalent phrase, Heb. viii. 6, *testamenti mediator.* In this Jerome evidently is following the Itala, as Tertullian, *De Carne Christi,* quoting 1 Tim. ii. 5, renders μεσίτης, *mediator,* as also in Gal. iii. 20. Another phrase in the passage in question is πρὸ καταβολῆς κόσμου, "from before the foundation of the world." This is rendered, both by Jerome and in the Itala as found in Tertullian, *a constitutione mundi;* but the translator here renders the words *ab initio orbis terrarum.* Cyprian renders *ab origine mundi,* Matt. xiii. 34; *De Orat. Dom.* 13; *de Zel. et Liv.* 15; *ante constitutionem mundi,* John xvii. 24; *Testim.* iii. 58; also paraphrased, *De Mortal.* 22, *priusquam mundus fieret.* It is clear, then, the translator was not intimately acquainted with any of the Latin versions in use. The translation seems the work of a monk, probably of barbarian, possibly Jewish, birth, who knew something both of Latin and Greek — probably better acquainted with the latter than the former. Not unlikely he had taken refuge in some Latin-speaking monastery, and translated for the benefit of the inmates this secret Mosaic book.

It is certainly from a Greek original that the Latin

we have has been translated. But a further question has to be considered—Is the Greek itself not also a version from a Hebrew or Aramaic original? Maintaining that the Greek was the original, we have Hilgenfeld and Volkmar, who are followed by Drummond. Ewald and Langen regard the Greek as a translation from a Hebrew original. Schmidt, Merx, and Colani hold the original to have been Aramaic. Between the two latter it is somewhat difficult to decide, from the fact that the genius of the respective languages is so similar. The main thing to decide is, Is the Greek the original language, or is it a translation?

The arguments for a Greek original are the presence of peculiarly Greek terms, such as calling the fifth book of Moses *Deuteronomium*, using *colonia* for city, plays of words which Hilgenfeld thinks he finds on translating back from Latin into Greek, as *ἤρξατο—ἀπαρχήν* and *θύσουσι—θήσουσι*. He also rests something on his own reading back of the enigmatical *Taxo* to *τξγ*. Much stronger than the last is *allofile* (*ἀλλόφυλοι*) for foreigners. He adverts to constructions which he regards as impossible in Hebrew, as *sancta vasa omnia tollet*, a form of words which he declares to be impossible in Hebrew—*eine hebraische unmögliche Wortstellung*, a statement that seems totally incorrect. Another phrase of the same kind is *magistri sunt (et) doctores eorum*, where there is no pronoun to the former substantive. In this case, Hilgenfeld argues that as the genitive of the pronoun is represented in Hebrew by the pronominal suffix, and this suffix is added of necessity to every noun to which it applies, the word in Hebrew representing *magistri* would have

had the suffix; and if it had the suffix, the Greek translator, and following him the Latin, would have represented this suffix by the genitive of the pronoun. This objection might have some validity were it a matter of certainty that this translation accurately represents the Greek of which it is a version. There is a doubt whether Hilgenfeld's retranslation accurately represents the original Greek, a doubt which renders invalid the argument he adduces from plays on words; we do not positively know that in the actual Greek text these plays on words were present. The only real argument is that deduced from the words *Deuteronomium* and *allofile*. As for *colonia* used as equivalent for city, its argumentative force is somewhat doubtful. It is true that κολώνια is used (Acts xvi. 12) of Philippi, but not at all as an equivalent to πόλις, but simply describing its municipal position. If the writer was, as we think not impossible, a Jew, so many important cities were known as colonies that he would have come to use the word *colonia* as equivalent to city. This, however, must have been an individual characteristic, and therefore proves nothing as to the original language of the book before us.

The fact that the LXX. have not translated or transliterated the Hebrew names of the books, and that one of these Greek names appears here, is susceptible of more than one explanation. Although אֵלֶּה הַדְּבָרִים is the name Deuteronomy is commonly known by, and was even in the days of Origen (Euseb. *Ecc Hist.* vi. 25), yet it had another name (מִשְׁנֶה תּוֹרָה) of which the name Deuteronomy may be regarded as a translation. Hence the writer of the Assumption of Moses, if he

did write in Hebrew, might have called the fifth book of Moses by this less used though not quite uncommon name. If so, *Deuteronomium* was quite a natural translation. Even though the original Hebrew writer —given that there was such a person—used the more common designation, still, one translating into Greek might transfer the name from the Septuagint to his own pages as being more likely to be intelligible to his audience than either a translation of the name or a transliteration of it such as Origen gives. The same thing may be said in regard to *allofile*. A translator into Greek from Hebrew might be prone to adapt his style as far as possible to that of the Septuagint; just as Archbishop Laurence adapts the language of his translation of the Book of Enoch to the English of the Bible.

Mere negative proof does not amount to much; but when from other grounds a certain view is *primâ facie* probable, to destroy the cogency of arguments against that view has some worth. It is generally acknowledged that the book in question was written in Palestine; and although the inhabitants all could speak Greek, yet most, indeed we may say practically all, Jewish Palestinian writings were originally in Aramaic or Hebrew. Even Josephus wrote his book of *The Wars of the Jews* in Aramaic first and then translated it into Greek. Moreover, we have seen that in the case of all the other Apocalyptic books the balance of probability was decidedly in favour of Hebrew or Aramaic being the original tongue. Along with this there are some peculiarities in the diction, which, as Langen says, prove the language of the book. In chap. v. we have

the phrase *personas cupiditatum*, which Hilgenfeld retranslates *πρόσωπα ἐπιθυμιῶν*. For our part, we think that unlikely to have been the Greek of this phrase; *πρόσωπον* was but rarely used in this sense—only once is it so used in the New Testament. There is certainly a plausibility in Langen's suggestion that it represents the Hebrew אַנְשֵׁי חֲמוּדוֹת, were it not that there is no Biblical example, for Dan. xii. is scarcely in point. His suggestion for the Greek is more natural, *ἄνθρωποι ἐπιθυμιῶν*, only it is difficult to understand why the translator did not translate *homines*; though all vagaries are possible to one who, having *mediator* as a good (ecclesiastically) classical equivalent for *μεσίτης*, chose to translate it *arbiter*. Langen brings forward another example of a Hebrew construction, *sub nullo dextræ illius sunt*, taking *dextræ* as nominative to *sunt*, and regarding it as a translation — יְמִין through *δεξιαί*. However, Volkmar, Hilgenfeld, and Fritzsche read *sub annulo dextræ*, etc., making *dextræ* genitive and *omnia coeli firmamenta* nominative to *sunt*. It seems a somewhat violent reading to find *nullo* and read *annulo*, the more so that the letters involved are very distinct in the manuscript.

Altogether the question is difficult of decision. For our part, from the relation in which it stands to the Book of Jubilees we feel inclined to regard it as having been probably written in Aramaic; a view that is confirmed by the occurrence of the word *horas* itself, there being no equivalent to this in Hebrew, while there is in Aramaic, Dan. iv. 19.

Nicephorus in his *Stichometria* gives the length of the *ἀνάληψις Μωυσέως* as 1400 *στίχοι*. As there are in

Ceriani's manuscript fragments 766 lines (*στίχοι*), we may say we have about the half of the original work. Of course, as the *στίχοι* are very short in the Ceriani MS., it is not impossible that Drummond's estimate may be correct, that we have only the third of it. His judgment is grounded on the fact that Nicephorus makes the Apocalypse of John also consist of 1400 lines; and the Assumption of Moses as we have it is little more than the third of the length of the Book of Revelation.

A very important question to be decided is the date at which the Assumption of Moses was written. Langen thinks it must have been composed shortly after the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus. The presupposition on which this conclusion rests is that the narrative is to be regarded as continuous. This, however, is not to be assumed, for neither in Daniel, Enoch, Baruch, nor Revelation does the narrative proceed continuously. There is in all four a return from a later to an earlier part of the history; indeed historic continuity is not congenial to the nature of Apocalyptic. Of course there might be evidence from the narrative itself that might prove that the Assumption of Moses was peculiar in this respect, but the frequent *lacunæ* that occur in the book fall on junction points—points where we should find a new beginning did such occur in the narrative. Schmidt, Merx, Fritzsche, and Lucius place its date some ten or fifteen years earlier than the date preferred by Langen. Most of these rest their conclusions on a definite meaning which they assign to "*horæ IV;*" but it is doubtful whether any definite temporal

meaning is to be assigned to this phrase. They also lay stress on the continuity of the narrative, holding that what is early in the narrative happened earlier in actual chronology than what is mentioned later; an assumption which we have just seen is not to be defended. Hausrath prefers some fifteen years later than the date assumed by Langen. Volkmar, with that strange prediction from the misty period of the last Jewish revolt, maintains that the book was written in the time of Barcochba. His somewhat elaborate calculations rest on the false assumptions above referred to. He rests a good deal also on an identification of *Taxo* of the Assumption with Rabbi Aqiba, an identification that seems utterly without foundation. We have no account, in the few authentic records of that time, of Aqiba retiring into a cave with seven disciples. As for the application of *gematria* to a word the original form of which we do not know but must assume, and the grounding anything on this, it is mere absurdity. Hilgenfeld, assuming the "four hours" to be the four emperors after Herod,—Augustus, Tiberius, Caius, and Claudius,—fixes the date at 44 A.D. He is certain that it was written before the destruction of Jerusalem. But it would seem doubtful on what principle Augustus, whose course had only some sixteen years to run at the death of Herod, should be included in "the four hours." It assumes the continuousness of the history, which we have seen is not even doubtful. Philippi has placed the date of the Assumption and that of the Book of Enoch late in the second century, and ascribes their composition to a desire to form a place for the references in Jude. This

extraordinary theory scarcely needs refutation. The great mass of students of this period have, however, agreed in regarding the date of the Assumption of Moses as about A.D. 6. If we apply our canons we shall, it seems to us, come to a similar conclusion. If we take our first canon, "the time of the composition of our Apocalypse is between the latest event clearly described and the first unmistakable break away from history," the reign of Herod, its character and length, his own descent (*qui non erit genere sacerdotum*), are accurately portrayed. Even Langen, after asserting the *rex petulans* to be Aristobulus, came to admit the correctness of the identification above given. Herod is succeeded by his sons, who reign but a short time. This latter point is only true of Archelaus; Antipas and Philip reigned long. Here two things may be noted, the accuracy which states that this *rex petulans* would be succeeded, not by his "son," but by his "sons," and the inaccuracy which ascribed to them but a short reign. Here, then, is a break from the facts of history, clear and unmistakable. At this point we may note that the four hours may not be indications of successive times, but that four marked periods began with the fall of the *rex petulans*—in other words, four reigns began at the conclusion of his—the monarchy was split up into four tetrarchies. All that follows this, so far as we can make it out from the fragmentary condition of the manuscripts, is still further away from actual history. Harsh as the Romans undoubtedly were, they never employed surgeons to remove from children the mark of circumcision, and the description of the horrors of the

Roman siege and conquest was imagined, not drawn from observation. This leads us to fix the date, as we have said, about the time of the deposition of Archelaus, while there was yet hope that the fate that had befallen him would also befall his brothers.

The background of intense hatred of the Herodians is also in complete harmony with what we know of the time in question from Josephus. Later, the Herodians became favourites, not only with the Sadducean, but also with the Pharisaic party, as we can learn from the Talmudic accounts of Herod Agrippa, and from the account given by Josephus, and even from the short notice of him which we have in the Acts of the Apostles; and later still King Agrippa was a defender of the Jews, as we learn from Josephus, and for this reason he was popular with the Jews, if we except the Zealots. By the time of the destruction of Jerusalem, the Herodian family had ceased to be regarded by the Jews. By the time of Domitian they had wholly disappeared.

We are thus led to place the date of the book at A.D. 6.

CHAPTER VIII.

CRITICAL NOTES ON POST-CHRISTIAN APOCALYPSES— THE ASCENSION OF ISAIAH.

LIKE so many other Apocalyptic books, the Ascension of Isaiah after having been lost sight of for centuries was discovered in Abyssinia. It had been referred to by Origen and Epiphanius. The former seems to refer solely to the Martyrdom, not to the ὅρασις; but this latter, under the title ἀναβατικόν, was known to Epiphanius. Jerome refers to the *Ascensio Isaiæ*. In the list edited by Pitra, the eleventh Apocryphal work is Ἡσαΐου ὅρασις. After this the work disappeared, until in 1819 Archbishop Laurence published an Ethiopic version from a manuscript in the Bodleian Library. It is scarcely a contradiction of this to mention that in 1522 the latter half of this book was printed at Venice in a Latin version. Printing, however, is not always publication; it disappeared as utterly as if it never had been. Dr. Gieseler, seeing a reference to it in Panzer's *Annales Typographiques*, instituted a search for the book, and got it at last in Copenhagen and in Munich. From these two copies he published an edition of the Vision of Isaiah in 1831. The Abyssinian war brought several new MSS. to Britain. Cardinal Mai published some fragments found in the

Vatican Library. With the help of these, Dillmann published his edition in 1877. It contains the text of the Ethiopic version with a Latin translation; as an appendix, the Latin Venetian version and the two fragments published by Cardinal Mai. The Latin Venetian version seems on the whole to represent an older text.

As the book has come down to us it seems to be two distinct and separate works, the Martyrdom of Isaiah and his Ascension. From the fact that we have not any part of the original Greek or Hebrew, one cannot decisively say whether or not it was the work of one hand. There are traces of sameness of views, however, which seem to us to point to this very distinctly. Langen holds that the author of the "Martyrdom" is a different person from the author of the "Ascension," because the name given to the devil is different: *Berial* in the "Martyrdom," and *Sammael* in the "Ascension." This, however, is a mistake. The devil is only twice referred to in the "Ascension," and in one he is called "Sammael" in the Ethiopic and "Satan" in the Venetian Latin, in the other Sammael-Satan; but in the "Martyrdom" Satan has four or five names, Berial, Sammael, and Satan being three of them. Another point that seems to imply difference of origin, is the fact that while Origen knew only of the "Martyrdom," Epiphanius shows no sign of knowing anything but the "Vision." This, however, may be explained in the way we have indicated above. If the author of the "Vision" had come to Rome and seen the Neronian persecution, he might easily be moved to make addition to his work; but if he had left it in the hands of the community at

Engedi, the addition would at first have to form a separate work. As most likely he would have no opportunity of editing his own work, what seems the blunder of putting what is really the end of the "Vision" or "Ascension" at the end of the trial, and before the Martyrdom, is easily explained. The most marked proof of unity of authorship is the reference back and forward from the one part to the other.

As to the relative age of these different portions, as will be seen, we regard the "Ascension" as the oldest portion. The reference back from xi. 41 does not necessarily imply a knowledge of the contents of the "Martyrdom," but only a knowledge of the fact which is related there, but had already long formed part of the current tradition in regard to Isaiah; whereas iii. 13 obviously refers forward to the actual contents of the "Vision." This applies much more to the addition. It is inconceivable that to the Martyrdom the part from iii. 14 to the end of iv. could have been added save by one who knew of the existence of the Vision, but had not the opportunity of adding it at its proper place. The first chapter is evidently the work of a later hand, the hand probably of the editor who put the two parts together.

The language in which this book was written is also doubtful. There is no question that the three versions which we have — in the case of the two Latin ones certainly in fragment only—are made from the Greek. All the quotations in the Fathers are also made from the Greek. Is the Greek the absolute original, or is it a translation? The indications are not very numerous, but there is one that seems

of considerable weight. In iv. 15 we have a reference to Isa. xxiv. 23: "the sun shall be ashamed." The Septuagint has a totally different rendering here: "The bricks shall be melted, and the wall shall fall." This seems to make it certain that the writer had the Hebrew before him, and therefrom probably wrote in Hebrew,—a probability that is all the greater from the fact that so many of the Apocalypses were written in Hebrew or Aramaic.

More important than the language is the date of the Apocalypse before us. The canon we have laid down concerning what is really the internal evidence applies here with the greatest force. Nero has died. There is no reasonable doubt. Nero is intended by the "matricide king;" but there are to elapse 332 days, at the expiry of which Christ is to come a second time, and the last judgment to take place. By our first canon this book must have been written between the death of Nero and the 332 days. The objection of Langen, that this is the apocalyptic Nero, not the historic Nero, is not of any value, for the effort of the writer is evidently to make the reader feel he has to do with Nero the matricide, who lived after the massacre of the Christians three years seven months and twenty-seven days. The background implied in the Apocalypse would lead us to this same date; it is one when the Lord's second coming was expected to be immediate; and we know that expectation had greatly faded, even by the days of Justin Martyr, and indeed in those of Clement of Rome. Justin regards the coming of the Lord as near,[1] but

[1] Justin, *Trypho*, 28. Clement does not notice the second coming at all.

not so immediate as the writer, who looks forward to the second advent at the end of nine or ten months.

The objection urged, that there are Gnostic elements and Montanistic elements, is as inept as that of Langen. Gnosticism reached its highest elaboration in the systems of Basilides and Valentinus, about A.D. 130 and 140 respectively. Montanism may be said to have risen about 170. These two movements, the Gnostic and the Montanistic, were directly antagonistic to each other. To find a potent state of thought where the two movements can be combined, one must go back in the history of primitive Christianity to the first century at all events.

There is no reference to the fall of Jerusalem, an event that could not but have been referred to had it already occurred. It must have been written then before 70 and after 68. We may fix the date with almost absolute certainty at the year 69. This Apocalypse is interesting as the earliest non-canonical Christian document.

FOURTH ESDRAS: DATE, LANGUAGE, ETC.

Unlike the other Apocalyptic books, the Fourth Book of Esdras has been known continuously in the Church from the days of Clemens Alexandrinus; only in a Latin version for several centuries, however. In the beginning of last century an Arabic version was discovered and translated by Dr. Simon Ockley. In the beginning of the present century Archbishop Laurence discovered an Ethiopic version, which he translated. Rather earlier than Archbishop

Laurence's publication was the publication in Venice, by the monks of the Armenian convent there, of the Armenian Scriptures, and in the volume was a version of Fourth Esdras. Ceriani first adverted to the difference from the Latin which existed in it. This was brought before the public by Ewald in 1865. Ceriani, in his *Monumenta sacra et profana*, had published four years before this a Syrian version from the archives of the Ambrosian Library, Milan. All these are versions from a Greek original, of which only two fragments remain, quotations in Clemens Alexandrinus and in the *Apostolic Constitutions*. Its non-existence in the Greek resulted in its being put in all editions of the Vulgate, since the Council of Trent, after Revelation, along with Third Esdras and the Prayer of Manasses.

As in the case of the Apocalypse of Baruch, the Greek itself may be a version of an earlier Hebrew or Aramaic original, and Bretschneider thought he saw traces of the Hebrew shining through the Latin in several instances. None of these appear absolutely conclusive. But the inability to produce conclusive evidence that the Greek from which the extant versions were taken was itself a translation, does not prove that it was an original document. If we had the Greek we should be in a different position. Certainly the fact that the other Apocalypses were written in Hebrew or Aramaic, renders it on the whole probable that Fourth Esdras also was so written. Moreover, although the instances of alleged mistaken translation are not absolutely conclusive, yet they have a certain weight. We must, therefore, leave the question of language doubtful.

To our eyes, the place where Fourth Esdras was

written seems to be Rome. Rome is the Babylon of the Apocalyptists, and the state of matters in the Babylon of the book before us admirably describes the condition of things in Rome, in regard to its Jewish community especially, in the decade that succeeded the capture of Jerusalem.

The date of Fourth Esdras is exceedingly difficult to settle. If we take the implied background as our guide, we shall be sure that it was written after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus. There is the utter despair of the future, which indicates a period of superlative national depression. Another note of time is the famous "eagle vision" of the eleventh chapter. It is not easily comprehensible, and the interpretation does not improve matters. This eagle represents the Roman power, and it has twelve heads, which represent twelve successive monarchs. It has three heads, which represent three reigns which shall come in the last time of the eagle, therefore coincident with the last three wings. That these last three are the Flavians, is made certain by the fact that the second is Augustus, who is pointed out by the fact that he reigned more than twice as long as any of the other monarchs. His reign, if reckoned from the death of his uncle, was fifty-seven years; whereas Tiberius, the longest reigning of his successors, only reigned twenty-three years. The main difficulty is with the eight opposing feathers. These seem to us to be the various opponents of the successive emperors, the Pompeys, father and son, Brutus and Cassius, Antony, Piso, Nymphidius, and Vindex.

Hilgenfeld would apply the vision to the Greek monarchy. But the fact that the second monarch

reigns so much longer than any of his successors, upsets that hypothesis. Further, it is impossible to explain the three heads.

Lücke holds that the twelve wings apply to the history of Rome before Sulla, and the eight feathers to the period after, and the three heads to the three triumviri. There are several variations on this theory; but all fail in this, that the Jews knew too little of the history of Rome before Sulla to put it in their picture, and, further, there were no twelve men that stood out as monarchs above their fellows. It seems impossible on any other hypothesis than the one we have adopted to explain the statement that the second would reign more than twice as long as any of his successors.

Another theory, that the three heads represent the Septimian dynasty, would be exceedingly plausible were it not that Clemens Alexandrinus quotes the work before us. It is conceivable that some hand may have added features at a later date to fit the dynasty of Septimius Severus and his sons Caracalla and Geta.

The date, excluding the efforts of the interpolator, would thus seem to be somewhere about 94 or 95 A.D.

TESTAMENTS OF THE TWELVE PATRIARCHS.

Unlike some of the books we have just been considering, "the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs" has been known more or less for a long time. It is more than six hundred years since Hugh Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln, discovered these Testaments in Athens, yet before that time they had been lost sight of for several

centuries. After Hugh Grosseteste's discovery of them they sank into oblivion again. In 1698, Grabe edited them from a manuscript he found in Cambridge. Several other editions have followed since.

There is no trace of any language behind the Greek. There are plays of language which have a meaning in Greek alone, and mistakes in derivations due to a predominance of Greek in the mind of the writer. An example of the former is (Jud. xxiii.) *νηπίων ἀναίρεσις καὶ συμβίων ἀφαίρεσις*. The word (Lev. vi.) *ἀσπίς* is given as the derivation of the name of a mountain in Palestine called Aspio. No mountain of that name is known, but it is certain no Palestinian place name would have a Greek etymology. The name of the books, *διαθήκη*, is used in its ordinary classical meaning of testament or will, not in its scriptural meaning of covenant (=בְּרִית), which was the only meaning it could have to the Jews, as they had no testaments in the proper sense of the word.

The country assumed is Egypt, and there is nothing to indicate that this is not where it actually was written. It was written where Greek was the spoken language, and yet where there were many Jews. It was written away from Palestine, yet near enough to cherish a hope of a return; all of which features suit Egypt fully as well as any other country.

As to the date—the data are somewhat scanty. There are few internal proofs, since the writer gives no view of universal history, as do so many apocalyptists. We can see, however, from the state of matters implied, that while it has been written after the capture of Jerusalem by Titus, and before the utter subversion of

the Jewish nationality on occasion of the overthrow of Barcochba in the reign of Hadrian,—that is to say, somewhere between 70 and 130 A.D.,—in all likelihood it was composed in the course of the first decade of the second century of our era.

CHAPTER IX.

VISCHER'S THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE APOCALYPSE OF JOHN.

ONE of the features in the evolution of Biblical Criticism that strikes a spectator, is the completeness with which it reverses its relation to the questions at issue in the course of a few years. Forty years is not long in the life of a science. Some forty-five years ago Schwegler published his *Nachapostolische Zeitalter*. It was then regarded as the most scientific statement of the results of New Testament Biblical Criticism, and for thirty or forty years has it been so regarded by the advanced school of critics. In that work he says of the Apocalypse (i. 66): "No writing of the New Testament canon has so continuous a line of such old and such satisfactory witnesses to produce for itself." Again (ii. 249): "It is the only one of the collected New Testament Scriptures that can rightly lay claim to be composed by an apostle who was an immediate disciple of Christ." And this view is held also by the author of *Supernatural Religion*.[1] Given the authenticity of the Apocalypse, then it was

[1] *Supernatural Religion*, ed. i. Part iii. vol. ii. p. 392: "The external evidence that the Apostle John wrote the Apocalypse is more ancient than that for any book of the New Testament, excepting some of the Epistles of Paul." See also Reuss, *Geschichte der heiligen Schriften Neues Testament*, p. 249.

argued the fourth Gospel could not have been written by John.

Now, however, a comparatively young student, Vischer by name, has overturned all that, and his opinion is being rapidly received in advanced circles. The view he brings forward is, that the Apocalypse of John is a Jewish Apocalypse, written over by a Christian. This process of writing over is a different one from mere interpolation. The writer is supposed to have gone over the whole book, adding a word here and a clause there, till he has modified the whole character of the book. No one can deny that this process is a possible one. It has been done in regard to the Ignatian Epistles, as the Long Recension abundantly testifies. The question: Has the Apocalypse been treated in this way? is not without pertinence. Having thrown doubt on the Apocalypse, one wonders whether the critical school will hasten to admit the fourth Gospel to the place of honour from which the Apocalypse has been ousted.[1]

No one who reads Vischer's tractate can fail to be struck with its great cleverness and ingenuity. In the first place, he throws off as Christian the first three chapters, and the last chapter with the exception of the first five verses. Then he carefully goes over the whole book, marking off words and clauses that are necessarily Christian. It further must be admitted that in many cases the construction is made simpler by the omission. Such cases where we see an expres-

[1] Martineau, *Seat of Authority in Religion*, p. 227: "The Apocalypse is put out of court altogether as a witness, and the old argument against either from its contrast with the other can no longer be pressed."

sion by implication of the unity subsisting between the Father and the Son,—between God and the Lamb, —to use the phraseology of the Apocalypse, he sees simply grammatical confusion caused by the work of the Christian *Ueberarbeiter;* as, for instance, xxii. 3 and 4, the throne of God and of the Lamb shall be in her, and *His* servants shall serve *Him*, and shall see *His* face; and *His* name shall be upon their foreheads. So too, in the sixth chapter, when the kings and rulers and rich men call upon the mountains and rocks to fall upon them, it is to hide them "from the face of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and from the wrath of the Lamb; for the great day of *His* wrath has come." While this is very ingenious, we cannot help feeling that equal ingenuity expended on Macaulay's History might prove it written by an ardent Tory but over-written by a zealous Whig. It seems strange that the Christian who has over-written this Apocalypse did not put the grammar right. The interpolator of Ignatius would never have hesitated in such a case. The fact that it does by implication express a truth that is above logic, and therefore above grammar, is explanation enough for us.

But even on his own hypothesis his theory does not hold. Given that it is a Jewish Apocalypse, then the probability is that it would be written in Hebrew, — a view that might be held even by those who maintain it to be the work of the Apostle John. If so, there would be a perpetual liability to drop into parallelism, especially in passages where there is any passion. Now, there are cases where the alleged Christian additions complete the

parallelism, which would otherwise be left incomplete. Thus xxi. 23—

> The city had no need of the sun,
> Neither of the moon to shine upon it;
> For the glory of God did lighten it,
> [And the Lamb was the lamp thereof].

We see that the fourth line is absolutely necessary to complete the verse. It is a parallelistic passage, as is proved by the relation of the first two lines, and so we necessarily expect the third line to be followed by a fourth. Yet by Vischer's hypothesis this fourth line is the work of the *Ueberarbeiter*. Other similar instances might be adduced.

But Vischer's arguments are not wholly verbal or grammatical, but also logical. He is unable to understand how, in the fifth verse of the fifth chapter, the apocalyptist is informed that "the lion of the tribe of Judah" is to open the book; and the sixth verse sees that information made good "by a lamb as it had been slain." Nor can he understand how the lamb could stand and appear to have been slain. He suggests that the Hebrew word was אַיִל, and the sound was like *ἀρνίον*, so the Christian *Ueberarbeiter* changed the one into the other. It seems strange that Herr Vischer should fail to advert to the two aspects of the Messiah's history, the conquering and the suffering to be seen in the prophets, and to some extent in the apocalyptists. This at once harmonises the lion and the lamb. He surely must have been but a careless student of apocalyptic writings to have ever brought as an objection to "the lamb as it had been slain," that *ist es rein unmöglich ein Lamm vorzustellen das*

dasteht wie geschlachtet. Had Herr Vischer been better acquainted with the Jewish Apocalypses he would have known that impossibility of representing pictorially or presenting clearly before the imagination is no barrier to the formation of an apocalyptic symbolic figure. These figures are built up by the judgment, not by the imagination. Certain elements have to be present, whether they form when put together a creature conceivable by the imagination or not. It would be beyond the power of any artist to represent the beast of the present Apocalypse, or—not to speak of the fourth beast of Daniel—the living creature of Ezekiel's vision, or the eagle of the eleventh chapter of Fourth Esdras.

Had he been a little better acquainted with apocalyptic writings, Herr Vischer would never have brought the objection he does to the ordinary interpretation of the woman "bringing forth the man child." He agrees with us that this must refer to the birth of the Messiah, but asserts that it cannot refer to Christ, as the book professes to be about the future, and our Lord was already born, if the writer was a Christian. Surely he never can have read the Book of Enoch, or he would not have made that assertion. In the first chapter of that book, second verse, Enoch, telling of the vision he saw, says, they were "not for this generation, but for far off generations which are to come;" yet in chap. vi. he relates the fall of the angels through women,—an event already past in his day, for he visits the angels in their condemnation "between Lebanon and Seneser." He had also failed to understand the close and intimate connection between the first and

second coming of their Lord in the minds of the early Christians. It was necessary to explain Satan's wrath against the Church; and this the writer does by showing that Satan, baulked in his attempt to destroy Christ upon earth, and expelled from heaven, would destroy the Church that has the testimony of Jesus. Satan is, however, to be overthrown by the second coming of our Lord. We may also add that the woman is not the virgin mother of our Lord, but the Church, Old Testament and New regarded as one.

He seems to have failed to remember the late origin of the Talmud, or to realise its utter untrustworthiness, when he appeals to it to explain this twelfth chapter in the light of the Talmudic statements given by Schürer. The statement in the Talmud was in all likelihood borrowed from Christian sources, not improbably from this very passage.

We would not, however, be thought to occupy merely a defensive position in this question, and to be able only to meet the arguments advanced against the Apocalypse, but have no positive arguments to bring forward on the other side in favour of its authenticity. As to interpolations, we have seen that parallelism proves that some of the instances of alleged interpolation belong to the original document; and as these are Christian, the whole case is broken down if one of these clauses is proved to have a necessary connection with the context. But more: although the marriage relationship was one frequently, in certain aspects, used by the old prophets to show forth Jehovah's relation to Israel, yet never is the marriage-feast used as a symbol of Messianic times, and of the bliss of those times. It

is used more than once by our Lord, *e.g.* in the parable of the Marriage Supper. Now, one of the parts of the Apocalypse that Herr Vischer acknowledges to be genuine is the conclusion in chaps. xx. and xxi. This is, then, an exclusively Christian element which involves in it that the bride be "the Lamb's wife."

A point that the author thinks he makes is with regard to the measurement of "the temple of God and the altar, and those that worship therein." That he declares can only be the temple at Jerusalem. We, for our part, would bring forward this as proof, absolutely conclusive, that it could not be the actual temple at Jerusalem; because not only is the temple to be measured, but also "the worshippers." We opine that no ordinary measuring-rod yet framed could measure the worshippers in the sense of the Apocalypse. Measurement applied to them must have a spiritual meaning. Moreover, "the court which is without the temple" was not to be measured, "because it is given unto the Gentiles, and the holy city they shall tread under foot forty and two months." When the Romans had the city after the capture by Titus, the whole temple was trodden under foot—not the outer court merely. It must then be a spiritual temple that is referred to. The holy city is certainly Jerusalem, now taken by Titus; the temple is the Church, Jewish at starting, with an immeasurable outer court of Gentiles.

But we will go further, and maintain that in the light of external evidence this hypothesis is impossible. Our author makes no attempt to solve the number 666. The names of none of the three Flavians will suit; yet Harnack, in his note to Vischer's tractate, declares that

the Jewish Apocalypse was written under Domitian. More important, as hostile to this view, is the impossibility of finding any place where this alleged Jewish Apocalypse could be composed *pace* Herr Harnack and his conclusion.

He is correct: the Apocalypse must have been written after the fall of Jerusalem, at all events, if it is not prophetic. The city is being trodden under foot of the Gentiles; yet, singularly, the temple and the altar are still there to be measured. Laying aside this little difficulty, which it is not open to him to meet by a spiritual interpretation, grant that it was written between 81 and 96, then how is the fact to be explained that Papias, the disciple of John, wrote a commentary on it—evidently understanding it to be by his master? This commentary must have been written about 120, at no great distance from Ephesus, to which the prologue refers. Would a *falsarius* have succeeded in palming off a work of some unknown Essene on the Christian community as the work of the apostle who had stayed so long among them? Some twenty years later, in his dialogue with Trypho in this very city of Ephesus, Justin cites the Apocalypse as by John. Before 120 the Christianised version had got vogue as written by John. But before this date the Jewish Apocalypse, alleged to be the *Grundschrift*, must have been written. Within little more than thirty years this double process has to take place. Moreover, by the later date the Apocalypse is so universally recognised to be by John, that one of his disciples writes a commentary on it. Leaving for the moment the utter improbability that Papias could be mistaken in that, it must be seen that

the thirty years or so that are left between the reign of Domitian and the time of Papias for the Jewish Apocalypse to be so composed is too short. But before the Flavians the Jews were enduring no persecution, and the Christians were. So far from that, in consequence of Poppæa's favour for the Jews, as we learn from Josephus' *Life*, they enjoyed something of the sunshine of the court favour. Later than Domitian it could not be, for the difficulties would only be increased.

Although we admit the accuracy of Harnack's conclusion as to the date of the Apocalypse, we doubt the correctness of the reasons by which he reaches it, on the assumption that it is a Jewish Apocalypse. He makes Domitian the eighth, who is one of the seven. He attains this number by starting with Augustus, and excluding Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. But Fourth Esdras reckons the emperors to be twelve, and Augustus to be the second. On that assumption Otho would be the eighth. If we take the common reckoning of Jewish Apocalyptic, not Domitian, but Otho would be the emperor under whom this alleged Jewish Apocalypse was written; but Otho's reign was so short, and his authority had such a limited acknowledgment, that, unless he wrote in Rome, the author would not have given Otho such a place of prominence. We thus see how impossible it is to find a time when this alleged Jewish Apocalypse could be written.

It has been urged by Vischer as an argument for regarding Revelation as an "over-written" document, that all other Apocalypses have undergone this process. The accuracy of the statement we doubt. The "Psalter

of Solomon," the "Book of Jubilees," and the "Assumption of Moses" are not usually reckoned as "over-written." Even the Book of Enoch, extensively interpolated as it is, can scarcely be said to be "over-written." But grant the premises to be true, and there would certainly be some little force in the argument. Let us now turn the argument another way. A universal peculiarity of those pseudo-apocalyptic writings is that the alleged author is one living in an age remote for its antiquity. The books are attributed to Moses, Enoch, Elijah, Solomon, by writers really living in the time of the Maccabees. Here is a work by a Jewish scribe which is over-written and ascribed, not to some old Jewish prophet, but to John, a man whom many of those living at the time the book in its baptized shape was published had known well. Apply the same sort of argument here, and we come to the conclusion that this cannot be like those pseudonymous Apocalypses which were so plentiful in that age. It might be answered that this might apply equally to the Apocalypse of Peter and the Apocalypse of Paul, works acknowledged to be apocryphal. There was also an apocryphal Apocalypse of John distinct from our canonical Book of Revelation. These, however, were the product of a considerably later date. Further, as counterfeit coin implies the existence of true, these false Christian Apocalypses imply one at least that is true and genuine, and all these must have been composed after the canonical Book of Revelation. Of course, if it were *proved* that behind the present Book of Revelation there was a Jewish Apocalypse, we would not be obliged to abandon the Johannine authentica-

tion of the book. If John, finding a Jewish Apocalypse that represented the future as he was enabled by the Spirit to see it, took it, "over-wrote," and so baptized it unto Christ, we might still hold it to be Johannine. There would certainly be the difficulty that John asserts the vision to be revealed to him personally, and this would seem to us an insuperable difficulty. This is not on a par with the relation between Second Peter and Jude, where one writer has evidently borrowed from another. We are, however, not under any likelihood of having to discuss this question seriously.

The phenomena that have led to the evolution of the latest critical results are really due, as it seems to us, to other causes. John was a Jew with strong Essenian leanings. He had studied the Apocalypses in which the Essenes had expressed their hopes and fears concerning the future; and when God revealed the future to him, the figures, imagery, and style of the works he had studied in earlier days came back to him and formed the natural vehicle by which he could express the message God had given him. In this way would we explain the difference of the styles of the Apocalypse and the Gospel. When wrapt in apocalyptic vision John naturally thought in Hebrew; and even if he wrote in Greek, it was really translation from a Hebrew original in his mind. Whereas in the Gospel he wrote simply the language which he most generally spoke. If we were compelled to make the choice between the Gospel of John and his Apocalpyse, if the admission of the one being true and authentic imposed necessarily the repudiation of the other, we think no Christian would have any hesitation. Much as we value

the Apocalypse, we value more the Gospel of John. But we are not reduced to this. Both books are evidenced in a way that would be regarded as overwhelmingly convincing were they the works of any classical author. The difference of style, though great, does not present an insuperable difficulty.

It would be amusing were it not somewhat sad to see how little flutters the critical schools. A young German *privat-docent* is anxious to earn promotion, and brings out some startlingly new theory. If he is a classical scholar he maintains that Juvenal did not write the *Satires* that go by his name, or Xenophon his *Anabasis*. If his study is history, he may demonstrate that Herod was kindly and magnanimous, or that Charles the Bold was chicken-hearted; if it is philosophy, that, generally speaking, everything is everything other than it is.

The sad and at the same time the amusing thing is that such performances, which deserve certainly to be often highly commended for the cleverness and erudition displayed, when the subject is Biblical criticism, are taken *au sérieux*, and anger or jubilation, as the case may be, is excited by them.

BOOK IV.

THEOLOGICAL RESULT.

THEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE APOCALYPTIC BOOKS.

THOUGH God is one and unchangeable, men are many and perpetually changing. This change is not like the cyclic change of the tides, which rise and fall with unfailing regularity to the same points on an average year after year. Still less is it like the boiling and bubbling of a caldron, a movement that tends in no one direction more than another. It is rather like a stream that broadens and deepens as it advances towards the infinite ocean. There is a perpetual evolution which is not the effect of chance, but takes place under the influence of the Divine Spirit, who educates the race more and more "to be able to comprehend with all saints what is the breadth and length and depth and height, and to know the love of Christ which passeth knowledge." Each age has something which those before it had not, but which it has attained because those preceding it had attained so far. Every age builds on the foundation its predecessors have laid, and without these foundations its own further advance would be impossible.

Even inspiration does not supersede this educative preparation. Our Lord's teachings implied a certain kind and degree of culture toward which His exhortations were directed. This doctrinal soil on which the great sower was to sow the precious seed of the

kingdom was of necessity the product of the apocalyptists. In order then to understand Christianity itself in its first publication, we must endeavour to estimate the theological position exhibited in these Jewish Apocalypses.

If we begin with Theology proper,—the doctrine of God,—we find a change in progress which is perfected in Christianity. In the Old Testament we find a constant anthropomorphism, certainly merely figurative in the inspired prophets and psalmists, but in all probability representing the non-figurative belief of the common people. When the psalmist hears in the thunder the roll of the mighty chariot of Jehovah as it careers along the sky; and sees in the dazzling gleam of the lightning the flashing descent of His glittering spear, in the lips of the psalmist it is poetry; but it was believed in sober earnest as literally true of the common people עַם־הָאָרֶץ. The doctrine of the prophets, that Jehovah was in some sense God of the Gentiles as well as of the Jews, disturbed the notion, that God was only an Almighty Israelite sitting in the clouds; but it always recurred. Moreover, with Him, according to the prophets, moral delinquency was not condoned on account of ceremonial accuracy, as the people were anxious to believe. Hence it was that they were so prone to apostatise and worship other gods. The gods of the nations were more easily pleased and more thoroughly partisan in the favour of their worshippers than was Jehovah.

But even taking the Old Testament prophets as the examples of the spiritual development of their time, and their language as its gauge, there is an immense

advance in the New Testament in regard to the lofty spiritual views of God presented. Compare the description of Deity in Ezekiel's vision, Ezek. i. 26–28, sublime and reticent as it is, with the still sublimer and more reticent description in Rev. iv. 3.

Between these two we find the description in Enoch xlvi. 1. There is certainly none of the sublimity of the two seers who possessed the genuine inspiration of the Divine Spirit, but there is more of the reticence which we have seen to be the characteristic of the New Testament than we find in Ezekiel. In Enoch, God as judge is shown "as one who had a head of days," but no form nor feature is alluded to.

Another element in the conception of God, where the contrast between the Israelitish and Christian position is marked, is the universality of the Divine relationship. God is the God, not only of the Jew, but "also of the Gentile" in the theology of Paul. Although sometimes the breadth of God's loving-kindness is taught by the prophets, as in the story of Jonah to them, yet the general aspect is one of particularism. Israel, and Israel alone, is God's inheritance; and God is entreated by Jeremiah to "pour His fury upon the heathen that know Him not;" and Isaiah apostrophises God: "We are thine: Thou never barest rule over them; they were not called by Thy name." In Enoch the idea that every nation was under the care of a special angel, Israel included,—a view which is implied in Daniel,—is developed, where the seventy shepherds, the angels of these heathen nations, are represented as ruling over Israel. In Baruch (xli.) we see that some of the heathen would see the error of

their ways and take refuge under the wings of the Almighty.

But Christianity is not only more universal than Judaism, it is also more particular. God is not only the God of every nation that dwells upon the face of the whole earth, but also of each individual saint. "The Lord knoweth them that are His." Above all, we are taught to pray and to say, "Our Father," to trust Him, and realise that "our Father knoweth what things we have need of before we ask Him." This finds its fullest expression in the doctrine of election, which regards each individual believer chosen by God from before the foundation of the world. To a certain extent, certainly in the prophets, and still more in the psalms, the saints of God express a deep personal trust in God which has resulted from a personal covenant with Him; but in the minds of the people, as reflected by the history of Israel and by other prophetic utterances, Jehovah was the covenant God of the people, Israel, not of the individual Israelite. The nation sins and the nation is punished; the nation is faithful, and is rewarded. In Christianity the nation has disappeared; the nation, in short, is not a Christian entity. "In Christ Jesus there was neither Jew nor Greek barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free; but all are one in Christ Jesus." When we turn to the Apocalyptic books, we find in the Psalter of Solomon the personal relation of the saints to God strongly emphasised. And in the Apocalypse of Baruch we find the doctrine of election, or something like it, indicated.

The point where the progress towards the Christian position is most marked in these Apocalyptic books, as

compared with the earlier standpoint of the prophets and psalmists, is in Christology. There is in the old prophets the purely human view of the Messiah; He is to be the new David, the new Moses. He is to rule the nations as with a rod of iron. Certainly there are mysterious accounts of how He was to suffer for the sins of the people. Still the royal prerogatives were most dwelt upon, although there are statements that in the light of Christian knowledge we can see, imply that the anointed of the Lord should be more than man, as the passage in the 110th Psalm, appealed to by our Lord Himself in that connection, and that in the ninth chapter of Isaiah, which has afforded words for Handel's chorus in the Messiah. Yet all these, even the last, are capable of an explanation which makes the Messiah simply human.

In the Christian position the Divinity of Christ is an essential doctrine, and the regal dignity is regarded as flowing really from this, and not from His Davidic descent.

In preparation for this we have the Messianic passages in the Book of Enoch, in which One like the Ancient of days is beside Him on the throne of judgment. And God calls Him "My chosen One." There is also the passage in the Psalter of Solomon, Ps. xvii. 36, in which the hoped-for Messiah is called *Χριστὸς κύριος*. It is true that the regal aspect of the expected Messiah is very prominent in the Psalter, but pitched so loftily that the step to the Divine is not great. The 27th verse of the same psalm says the Messiah is appointed by God "to destroy the lawless nations by the word of His mouth; at His rebuke the heathen shall

flee from His face; and to convict sinners in the reasoning (λόγῳ) of their heart." In the prophecy of Baruch the coming of the Messiah is associated with marvels that imply Him to be more than human. Further, we are told that when the Messiah returns in His glory, then "all who have slept in hope of Him shall rise."

When we turn to the functions of the Messiah in the prophets, we find that while He is the representative of the Almighty, He can scarcely be said to be the "mediator" between God and man. It is needless to note how prominent this idea is in the New Testament. In the Apocalyptic books we certainly have not the mediatorial function of the Messiah stated in terms, but it is present by implication. Moses was recognised as the type of the coming Messiah, promised in the Book of Deuteronomy. The promise is twice referred to in the Acts of the Apostles. In the Assumption of Moses the title "Mediator" is again and again assumed by Moses as given to him from before the foundation of the world.

In one aspect of the Messiah's work there is a distinct retrogression in the apocalyptists from, at all events, the highest point reached by the prophets as compared with the Christian view. The atonement made for the sins of the world is one of the most fundamental of Christian doctrines. Although it is perhaps scarcely likely that the full meaning of their words was comprehended by their Jewish contemporaries, it seems difficult to believe that some of the truth conveyed by the prophets—in what we feel to be such clear language—did not pierce into the minds of their hearers. When the evangelical prophet proclaimed the coming of Him

who "was bruised for our iniquities," and upon whom "the chastisement of our peace was laid," "by whose stripes we were healed," it is difficult to see how the hearers could escape some knowledge of the atoning work of the Messiah. Although there is a sense of sin as sin expressed in the Apocalypses, there is no recognition of the need or possibility of an atonement being offered, much less the faintest hint that they expected that the Messiah they looked for should offer such an atonement. In the Psalter of Solomon the psalmist indicates that in his view atonement for sin was attained by welcoming the afflictions of the Lord. Although the sacrifices of the temple might have taught them this great need, yet the Apocalyptists have distinctly receded from the position of the prophets in regard to it. It is possible that as the unholy lives of the priests had led the Essenes to withdraw very much from the temple worship, these scandalous lives might have a further effect. The Essenes had already been convinced by them that the sacrifices of the law had no intrinsic efficacy, and from this the step was easy to deny that they had any symbolic or sacramental efficacy as the types and emblems of a greater sacrifice yet to come. Whatever teaching the sacrifices of the law were fitted to afford men as to the nature of the atonement was thus lost to the Essenes; hence their retrogression. Yet they had the idea that somehow the Messiah was to purify the house of Israel from their sins.

It may be doubted whether the writer of the Book of Enoch fully recognised the import of the title he gave the Messiah when he spoke of Him as "Son of

man;" but there must have been some notion of it, for it is associated with the idea of His presiding along with the "Head of days at the last judgment." This title "Son of man" is never really given to the Messiah in the Old Testament; the passage in Daniel being merely descriptive, intended, as we have said above, to convey the notion that one wearing the human shape would judge the world at the last. This we may regard as a distinct preparation for the gospel.

The advance in anthropology is very marked in some directions, and chiefly in regard to immortality. While at times the prophets and psalmists rise to what seems a recognition of this doctrine in general before the captivity, there was no clear belief in immortality. Some of the statements even in the psalms seem almost hopeless in their outlook: "The dead praise not the Lord, neither such as go down into silence." Other instances might be brought, too numerous to be noted here. When we turn to the apocalyptists we find not only immortality, but also the resurrection of the body assumed as true, and regarded as universally acknowledged. This is specially prominent in the Book of Enoch and the Apocalypse of Baruch. Thus, in the former, chap. xxiii., Enoch is shown the apartments where the souls of the dead are separated, the good from the bad, until the day of judgment. This representation is assumed in the Apocalypse of Baruch, chap. xxx., in which we are told that when the Messiah comes the receptacles for the souls of the just shall be opened. There was also a great assembly of souls. All this proves that the doctrine of immortality was held generally, at least, by the Essenes. In regard to

this we have the testimony of Josephus as confirmatory of this view. But, further, with the immortality of the soul is invariably conjoined the resurrection of the body in the apocalyptists, a Christian doctrine adumbrated in the Old Testament, but sedulously ignored by Josephus, who knew how incomprehensible such a doctrine would be to his Hellenized Roman masters.[1]

Another question which belongs to anthropology is freedom. According to Josephus, only the Sadducees held the absolute freedom of the individual. The Pharisees and Essenes both believed in εἱμαρμένη, the latter in its most absolute sense. In studying the apocalyptists we find no trace of such absolute fatalism. Throughout the Book of Enoch certainly the saints are called "the elect," "the chosen ones." In the Book of Jubilees there is a much nearer approach to this view, though even in it the references to the tablets of Heaven do not imply so much that they have written on them the account of what is to happen, as that they contained the ceremonial laws that are valid to the children of Israel. This becomes much more decided in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs. In the Testament of Levi we are told that it was written on the tablets of the Heavens that Levi and Simeon should slay the Shechemites. Yet, on the whole, we may say that nothing like the absolute fate indicated by Josephus as believed by the Essenes, or even that more modified form ascribed by him to the Pharisees, is found in the Apocalyptic books.

The doctrine in which there was most development

[1] The doctrine of pre-existence which we find asserted in the Wisdom of Solomon is not maintained in the apocalyptists.

in the period of the apocalyptist was that of angelology and its cognate subject demonology. While in the Old Testament there are frequent references to angels, and in the Pentateuch to one, "the angel of the presence," yet only in Daniel are any of the angels named. In Daniel two of the angels are made known to us by name, Michael, the angelic prince of the house of Israel, and Gabriel. In this matter the New Testament adds nothing to the doctrine of Daniel. Michael and Gabriel are named in the New Testament, and they alone. In Tobit, which is probably the oldest of the Apocryphal books, another angel is named, Raphael. But in the Book of Enoch the names of the angels are numerous beyond all easy reckoning. All this bears out the statements of the Rabbins, that the Jews brought the names of the angels with them from Babylon.

In Daniel we find reference to angelic princes of certain nations. In Christianity the nation has disappeared, and instead of the nation we have the Church, and in the Book of Revelation every Church has its angel. In the Book of Enoch all the Gentile nations of the world are regarded as seventy-two, and certain of these have dominion over Israel during the course of its history. In Daniel, however, there is no mention of special angels being over special physical forces; this we find in Revelation. There is the angel of the sun, the angel of the four winds, the angel of the waters. This physical function we find largely assigned to angels in the Book of Enoch, especially in the Noachian fragments. Another set of angels merely referred to in Daniel are prominent

in Enoch, the "watchers;" these do not recur in the Johannine Apocalypse.

There is, however, a more mysterious subject in regard to which the Apocalyptic books have formed a point of transition between the Old Testament and the New. In the sixth chapter of Genesis there is a reference to unions between the sons of God and the daughters of men. When we turn to the Epistle of Jude, we find in close connection with a quotation from Enoch, a reference to the angels leaving their own dwelling-place (οἰκητήριον) and not guarding their rule (ἀρχή).[1] The punishment inflicted on the angels is referred to as "everlasting chains." It seems hardly possible to avoid the conclusion that Jude referred to the transaction in Gen. vi. 2 through Enoch.

In regard to demonology, the Apocalyptic books represent an aberrant movement. The function of Satan, as exhibited in Job, Zechariah, and Chronicles, is certainly to some extent fulfilled by *Mastema* in the Book of Jubilees. But, on the other hand, Satan's share in the fall of man is not at all alluded to. In fact, in his account of the history of the race, Enoch, though he mentions the murder of Abel, does not mention the sins of Adam. The fact that Adam sinned, and by his sin brought death, is certainly made prominent in the Apocalypse of Baruch, but there is no reference to Satanic temptation. In the Book of Jubilees the Fall is described, but the tempter seems to be regarded merely as a serpent. The

[1] The view we indicate is that maintained by most commentators, Huther, Fronmüller, etc.; others admit the reference to Gen. vi. 2, Alford, Delitzsch, etc.

doctrine of the New Testament, asserted by Paul and implied in the Revelation, that the serpent was but the instrument of another higher, more subtle and more wicked being, is nowhere stated in the Apocalyptic writings save in Baruch, where the envy of the devil is regarded as the cause of man's fall.

We should have wished to consider those mysterious beings, the Cherubim, who disappeared, so far at least as the name is concerned, from the New Testament. To us, Cherubim and Seraphim alike seem to be symbols of the Holy Spirit. In the Book of Enoch not only have we Cherubim and Seraphim, but also Ophanim. This last denomination is borrowed from Ezekiel's vision, and is nothing else than "wheels."

The doctrine of the Holy Spirit, which is in Justin Martyr so closely identified with that of the angels, would also repay more careful elucidation than we can now give to it.

One of the aspects which most strikes the student on entering upon the study of the apocalyptists is the frequency of general views of history, terminating in a final judgment. The earliest clear statement of a final judgment is in the earliest of the Apocalypses, the Book of Daniel. From him downward it is a frequent feature of Apocalyptic writings; noticeably this is the case in the last and greatest of the Apocalypses, that of the Apostle John. Certainly his description of the awe-inspiring concomitants of that day of final assize is full of a grandeur nothing in any of the pseudo-Apocalypses can equal. Following the last judgment, of course, is the state of rewards and punishments. It is not easy to discover how far the Jews held this doctrine in

prophetic times. Of course there are grandly poetical descriptions of the descent into *Sheol* of such as Pharaoh, yet still there is no proof, at least no indisputable proof, that this represented the common belief of the Jewish people. Certainly their nearness to Egypt, and their constant intercourse with it, rendered it all but certain that some views on the momentous subject of the future state must have been prevalent. In the New Testament there is no equivocal sound given on this question. From our Lord's parable of Dives and Lazarus, down to the visions of the Johannine Apocalypse, the future condition of saints and sinners is clearly portrayed.

In the apocalyptists of the inter-Biblical period we find considerable space occupied with pictures of the future state. In Enoch we have the place of the punishment of the fallen angels which we have already referred to, the place also where the wandering stars (ἀστέρες πλανήται) are punished, and also places where the wicked are kept to the day of judgment. These last are away to the west. As he saw the fiery sun sinking in the blazing sea, it was not unnatural that he should think of rivers of fire away beyond the verge of the horizon; perhaps there was something of the Grecian ideas of Styx and Phlegethon in his views as well. In Baruch also there is mention of the state of the lost; xlviii. 38, 39, "Because they oppressed, and walked every one in his own works, and did not remember the law of the Mighty One; on account of this fire shall devour their souls, and in flames shall the care of their reins be examined: for the judge will come, and will not tarry."

But the future life has not only its place of woe, but also its place of joy. This is dwelt on lovingly by the writer of the nucleus of the Book of Enoch. He evidently closely associates it with the earthly paradise. In the Apocalypse of Baruch the glory of Messianic times is closely associated with the state of future bliss to be enjoyed by the righteous. We all know what a large space the bliss of heaven occupies in the New Testament, and how relatively small is the space occupied by the same subject in the Old. It seems probable, then, that the apostles and their contemporaries were prepared for receiving the truth concerning the future by the writing of the apocalyptists.

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